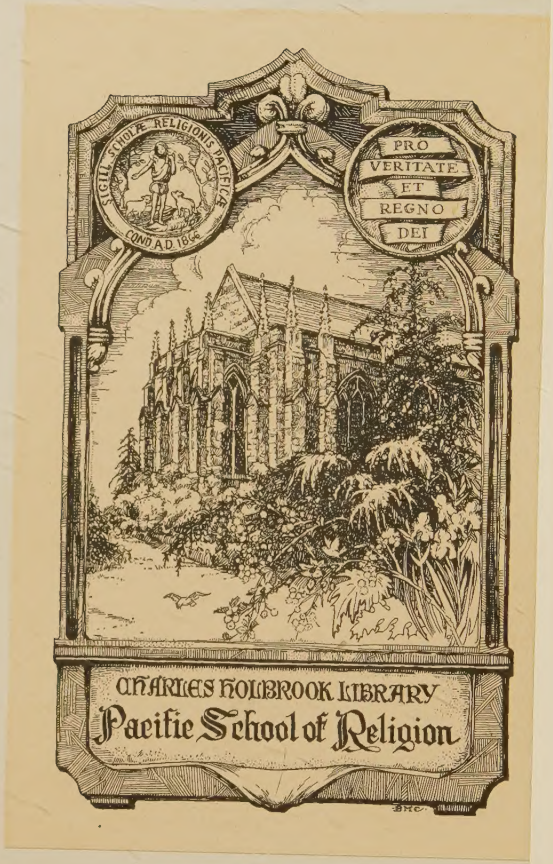
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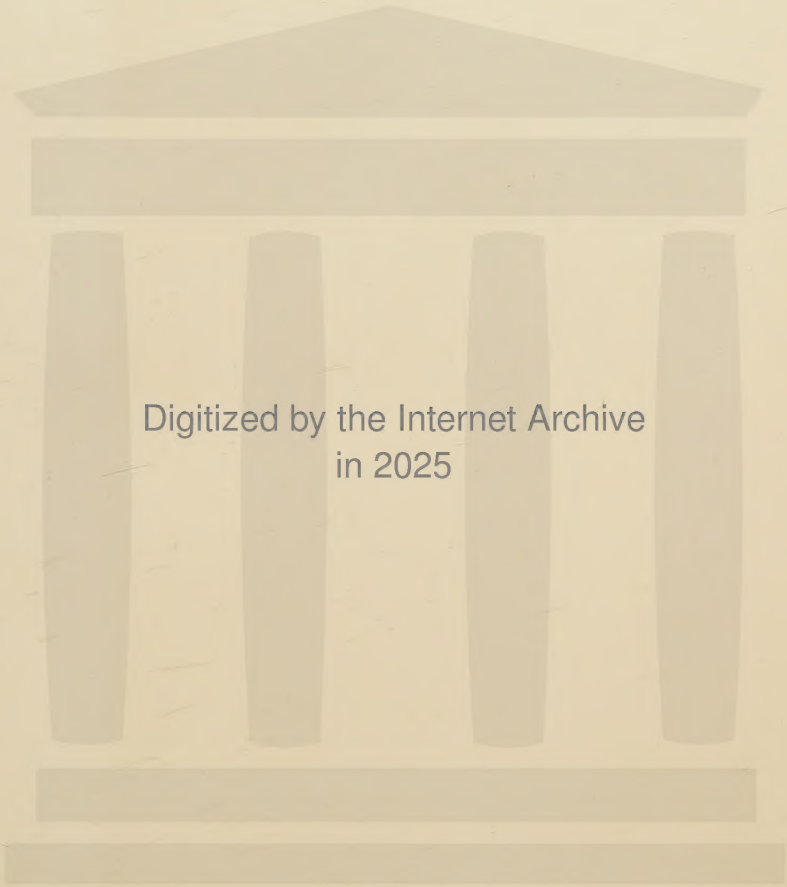

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LAW IN THE APOCRYPHA

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LAW IN THE APOCRYPHA

BY
RALPH MARCUS

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TO MY MOTHER AND FATHER

NOTE

THE Apocryphal writings are becoming daily a subject of more engrossing interest. They pertain to a period about which we still know little, and any addition to our information on the subject is eagerly welcomed. Dr. MARCUS has chosen the difficult task of determining the place that Law, or rather, the Halakha, occupied in the Apocrypha. He has made a minute and critical study of the passages involved, and has thrown much light upon debated points. The accuracy of his work will commend it to all who are engaged in researches along these lines.

May 1927.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL

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PREFACE

THE apocryphal literature of the Old Testament has been critically studied for a number of years both by Christian scholars who are interested in it as the literature of an age immediately preceding the rise of Christianity, and, within more recent years, by Jewish scholars who recognize the fact that it is after all a Jewish literature and important for an understanding of the Jewish religion of pre-mishnaic times. But Christian scholars, on the one hand, have been more interested in the theological and eschatological aspects—and these more in relation to the Old and New Testaments than to later Judaism, and Jewish scholars, on the other hand, have been more interested in the historical side of the apocryphal books, and both have somewhat neglected them as sources of knowledge of the legal aspect of Hellenistic Judaism, as a literature, tho only incidentally, bearing on those subjects of religious and ceremonial law which were known to the rabbis as halakah.

A few Jewish scholars have studied certain points of law in particular books, but there is as yet no study of the law in the apocrypha as a whole. This work is an attempt to present material for some parts of such a study. It was originally planned to include all matters of religious and civil law, and material had been collected on those subjects, but because of pressure of time and lack of opportunity to pursue certain inquiries more thoroly, it was found necessary to confine the treatment of halakic matters to the more important ceremonial observances.

A brief study has also been made of such theological ideas as are helpful for an understanding of the attitude of the Jews in the Hellenistic period toward the Law and their religious duties—of such ideas, that is, as were in later times considered under the head of haggadah.

In addition to the books commonly known as apocryphal, two others have been studied, *The Letter of Aristeas* and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* It would have been desirable to include all the pseudepigraphic books, but as their contents are chiefly eschatological and as limits of time made some restriction necessary, preference was given to the two books mentioned. *The Book of Jubilees* is, of course, particularly important. For a discussion of some points of law in this book I have used FINKELSTEIN's article on *The Book of Jubilees and the Halaka,* in the *Harvard Theological Review.* For the Damascus sect, v. GINZBERG, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte,* 1922.

I wish to thank Dr. O. H. GATES, librarian of the Theological School in Harvard University, for his kindness in putting the resources of the school library at my disposal. I am greatly obliged to Professor GOTTHEIL of Columbia University for his interest in this study and for the special help he has given in preparing it for publication. To my friend and teacher, Professor HARRY A. WOLFSON of Harvard University, I am deeply grateful for his critical suggestions and for the valuable assistance he has given me in my theological studies. I am equally grateful to Professor GEORGE FOOT MOORE of Harvard University for the advice which he has always been generous in giving me in all matters connected with the Hellenistic studies in which, under his expert direction, I was engaged for two happy and profitable years.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE Greek text here used for citations from the apocryphal books is the Tauchnitz edition of VAN ESS, Leipzig, 1922, which is, except for slight changes, a reproduction of the Sixtine edition of 1587. Except where otherwise noted, the numbers of chapters and verses in the Greek refer to those of VAN ESS.[1]

With the Roman text of VAN ESS, which is of course mainly based on Cod. Vat. except in those books which are not found in B, such as 1, 2 and 3 Maccabees,[2] I have compared the variant readings given in the apparatus of HOLMES and PARSONS (vol. v, 1827) and the readings of ℵ, A and C given in SWETE's *Old Testament in Greek*, vol. ii, 1891, vol. iii, 1894.

The LXX of Daniel (Codex Chigi) is taken from SWETE.

In the book of Tobit, the Aramaic version published from a Bodleian Ms. by NEUBAUER, *Book of Tobit*, 1878, was compared with the two Greek recensions, B and ℵ.

The Hebrew text of Sirach is taken from STRACK's *Die Sprüche Jesus des Sohnes Sirachs*, 1903.

The readings of the Syriac version of the apocryphal books (with the exception of Esther which is not found in Syriac, and the Prayer of Manasses) are taken from LAGARDE, *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Syriace*, Leipzig, 1861. For the Syriac of the Prayer of Manasses, the transcript of a Paris Ms., Anc. Fonds 2, Bibl. Nat. Syr. 7, published by G. WILKINS in *Hermathena*, vol. xxvi, 1910, was used. WILKINS collated it with the text

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[1] Slight changes have been made in reproducing the text of VAN ESS, such as printing σ for ς at the end of prepositions compounded with verbs.

[2] VAN ESS, p. 20, note 1 (as also SWETE, *Intro. O. T. Gr.*, p. 131) supposes that the Roman editors used Cod. Ven. for the books of the Maccabees. The Sixtine text however differs from V in a very great number of instances.

published by LAGARDE in his edition of the *Didascalia* from which it differs only slightly. Cf. WILKINS, *o. c.*, p. 167.

The Greek text of the Letter of Aristeas is that edited by THACKERAY (with WENDLAND's section numbering) in SWETE's *Intro. O. T. Gr.*, Rev. ed., 1914, pp. 551–666.

For the Greek text of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs I have used the edition of SINKER, *Testamenta XII Pat.*, Cambridge, 1869, and with this compared the readings of CHARLES, *The Greek Versions of the Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs*, edited from nine Mss., Oxford, 1908. The verse numbers are those of CHARLES.

The text of Philo is the *Editio Minor* of COHN and WENDLAND, 6 vols., 1896–1915. The text of Josephus is the *Editio Minor* of NIESE, 2 vols., 1888–1890.

Chapters and verses of the Old Testament are according to the Hebrew text.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of the works here cited are as follows:—

ART	SCHECHTER, *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, N.Y., 1909.
Bial.	BIALIK and RABINETSKY, *Sepher Ha-Haggadah*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1922.
CAP	CHARLES (ED.), *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1913.
CT	CHARLES, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs Translated . . .*, London, 1908.
FKE	FRITZSCHE (ED.), *Kurzgefaßtes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*, Leipzig, vol. i, 1851, vol. ii, 1853, vol. iii, 1857.
Fink.	FINKELSTEIN, *Jubilees and the Halaka, Harvard Theol. Review*, vol. xvi, 1922.
Ges.	GESENIUS (ed. Buhl), *Handwörterbuch über d. A. T.*, 17. Aufl., Leipzig, 1921.
GJV	SCHÜRER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter J. Christi*, vol. ii, 3. Aufl., 1898, vol. iii, 4. Aufl., 1909.
HDB	HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible.*
HP	HOLMES and PARSONS, *Vetus Test. Graecum . . .*, 5 vols., Oxford, 1798 to 1827.
HR	HATCH and REDPATH, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 2 vols., London, 1897.
Hart	HART, *Ecclesiasticus, The Greek Text of Codex 248*, Cambridge, 1909.
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia.*
JJGL	*Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* ed. Brüll.
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review.*
KAP	KAUTZSCH (ED.), *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Test.*, 2 vols., Tübingen, 1900 (Neudruck, 1921).
Kneu.	KNEUCKER, *Das Buch Baruch*, Leipzig, 1879.
KNT	STRACK und BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Test. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. i, Munich, 1922.
Lag.	LAGARDE, *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Syriace*, Leipzig, 1861.
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.*
MJ	MOORE, G. F., *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1927.
M. Tan.	*Midrasch Tanḥuma* ed. Buber, 2 vols., Wilna, 1885 (quoted by folio).
Marm.	MARMORSTEIN, *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinical Literature*, London, 1920.

Mek.	*Mekilta* ed. Weiss, Vienna, 1865.
Neu.	NEUBAUER, *Book of Tobit*, Oxford, 1878.
PB	ABRAHAMS, *A Companion to the Authorized Daily Hebrew Prayer Book... of S. Singer*, Rev. ed., London, 1922.
Pes. K.	*Pesiḳta de Rab Kahana* ed. Buber, Lyck, 1868 (quoted by folio).
REJ	*Revue des Études Juives.*
RJ	BOUSSET, *Die Religion des Judentums im Neutest. Zeitalter*, 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1906.
Rit.	RITTER, *Philo und die Halaka*, Leipzig, 1879.
Rosen.	ROSENTHAL, *Vier Apokryphische Bücher aus der Schule Akibas*, 1885.
Sch. Es.	SCHOLZ, *Commentar über das Buch Esther* ..., Würzburg, 1892.
Sch. Jud.	SCHOLZ, *Commentar über das Buch Judith* ..., Würzburg, 1896.
Sifra	ed. Weiss, Vienna, 1862 (quoted by folio).
Sifre	ed. Friedmann, Vienna, vol. i, 1864 (quoted by folio).
Sm.	SMEND, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt*, Berlin, 1906.
Str.	STRACK, *Die Sprüche Jesus des Sohnes Sirachs*, Leipzig, 1903.
Sw.	SWETE, *The Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, vol. ii, 1891, vol. iii, 1894.
Tos.	*Tosephta* ed. Zuckermandel, Pasewalk, 1880.
Trei.	TREITEL, *Philonische Studien*, Breslau, 1915 (reprinted by Brann from MGWJ, vol. xlvii, 1903).
Van	VAN ESS, *Vet. Test. Graecum*, Leipzig, 1922.
ZATW	*Zeitschrift für Alttest. Wissenschaft.*

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS USED

〈 〉 = words supplied in text, in translation, or in quotation of authorities.
[ ] = words in text to be rejected as incorrect or interpolated.

I. GOD AND ISRAEL

1. The Moral Attributes of God

In the Letter of Aristeas, the Egyptian king remarks, after the long examination of the Jewish elders on questions of religion and morality, that the Jews are distinguished from other men in virtue and understanding because they are able to answer all his questions satisfactorily and without hesitation; and he further significantly observes that they have all agreed in making God the point of departure in answering. Aris. § 200. εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ... οἶομαι διαφέρειν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ἀρετῇ καὶ συνιέναι πλεῖον, οἵτινες ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις λαμβάνοντες, ὡς δέον ἐστὶν ἀποκέκρινται, πάντες ἀπὸ θεοῦ τοῦ λόγου καταρχὴν ποιούμενοι.

We may do well to proceed in somewhat the same way and to make the idea of God the point of departure for a discussion of some of the apocryphal teachings concerning Israel's relation to God and its obligations toward his law.

a) *The Two Attributes*

There are of course many passages in the Old Testament in which the justice and mercy of God are spoken of, but the more explicit idea of the two attributes of justice and mercy, מדת הדין and מדת הרחמין as they are called by the rabbis, is more common at a later time. We may notice a few passages in the apocrypha where the two attributes are mentioned together, and then consider the passages in which God's justice and his mercy are separately described.

In Tob. iii, 2. Tobit prays, δίκαιος εἶ κύριε καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοί σου ἐλεημοσύναι καὶ ἀλήθεια, καὶ κρίσιν ἀληθινὴν καὶ δίκαιαν σὺ κρίνεις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. "Just

art thou, oh God, and all thy acts and all thy ways are mercy and truth, and true and just judgment thou givest forever."

> ελεημ.] Fritzsche FKE 'Correctur durch ἀλήθεια veranlasst.' All Gr. mss. seem to have it, some in plural; Vet. lat. *misericordiae* Neu. שיבו Lag. ܚܢܢܐ. ελεημοσυνη in LXX most often translates חסד, ελεημων חונן or רחום, v HR. | א omits και κρισιν αληθ. κ. δικ.

In Wis. xii, 12–18. the author strongly denies that God's judgment is arbitrary and eloquently establishes the moral certainty of his mercifulness. 15. δίκαιος δὲ ὢν δικαίως τὰ πάντα διέπεις ... 16. ἡ γὰρ ἰσχύς σου δικαιοσύνης ἀρχή, καὶ τὸ πάντων σε δεσπόζειν πάντων φείδεσθαι ποιεῖ ... 18. σὺ δὲ δεσπόζων ἰσχύος ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ κρίνεις καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς φειδοῦς διοικεῖς ἡμᾶς. "Since thou art just, justly thou governest all things ... 16. For thy power is the source of thy justice, and because thou hast authority over all thou art forbearing with all. 18. Tho thou hast power to use freely, thou judgest mildly and with great forbearance thou rulest us."

And again in Wis. xv, 1. Σὺ δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν χρηστὸς καὶ αληθής, μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐν ἐλέει διοικῶν τὰ πάντα ... "But thou, our God, art kind and true, long-suffering, and with mercy ruling all things."

> The δὲ marks the contrast between Israel's just God and the idols of the heathen. Grimm FKE thinks that the author has Ex. xxxiv, 6. in mind. The verse was much quoted in later books of the O. T., so that Grimm's supposition is plausible. The context makes it clear that both the justice and mercy of God are referred to. | χρηστος] in LXX often for טוב.

Finally in Bar. v, 9. (which is the end of the book) we have a sort of benediction. ἡγήσεται γὰρ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ μετ' εὐφροσύνης τῷ φωτὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ σὺν ἐλεημοσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ. "God will guide Israel with joy, in the splendor of his glory, with the mercy and justice that are his."

> δικαιοσυνη] Fritzsche FKE and Rothstein KAP translate 'Gerechtigkeit' (the latter regards the words ελεημ... αυτου as a gloss for metrical reasons). Whitehouse CAP translates 'righteousness'; Kneu. takes δικ. as צדקה 'Güte, Gnade.' The context does not make it clear whether δικ. is 'benevolence' or 'righteousness,' i.e. 'justice.' I think it probable that the latter is meant.

Philo connects the two more philosophical attributes of authority and benevolence with the two names of God, κύριος and θεός respectively. De Plantatione § 86. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κύριος καθ' ἣν ἄρχει, ἡ δὲ θεὸς καθ' ἣν εὐεργετεῖ. De Abrahamo § 121. προσαγορεύεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ θεός, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἔθηκέ τε και διεκόσμησε τὸ πᾶν, ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, θέμις γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν τὸ πεποιηκὸς τοῦ γενομένου.

The rabbis in commenting on the use of the various names of God connect אלהים, θεός with the attribute of justice, and יהוה, κύριος with the attribute of mercy, giving an interpretation just the reverse of Philo's, if we understand Philo to refer to justice and mercy by implication. Shemot Rabba, Par. iii on Ex. iii, 14. א״ר אבא בר ממל א״ל הקב״ה למשה שמי אתה מבקש לידע לפי מעשי אני נקרא ... כשאני דן את הבריות אני נקרא אלהים וכשאני מרחם על עולמי אני נקרא יהוה. "Rabbi Abba bar Memel said, The Holy One said to Moses, Is it my name you want to know? According to my ⟨various⟩ activities I am ⟨variously⟩ called. When I judge men I am called Elohim ... and when I exercise mercy toward my world I am called Jahweh." Cf. Bereshit Rabba, Par. xxxiii. on Ex. xxxiv, 6. and Ex. xxii, 9. בכ״מ שנא׳ ה׳ מדת רחמים ה׳ ה׳ אל רחום וחנון ... בכ״מ שנא׳ אלהים הוא מדה״ד. "In every passage where the name Jahweh is used, it refers to the attribute of mercy, ⟨as in the verse⟩ Jahweh, Jahweh, a merciful and gracious God ... in every passage where the name Elohim is used, it refers to the attribute of justice."

b) *The Attribute of Justice*

The 'righteousness' of God in the sense of 'judicial fairness' or 'justice' is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, particularly in the Prophets and Psalms. The word used to express it is צדקה, δικαιοσύνη. As צדיק refers to men who fulfil their religious and social obligations, so צדיק is used of God as the righteous judge both in his dealings with Israel and with other nations. For O.T. references cf. Skinner, HDB iv, p. 213 ff., Ges. sub verb. צדיק 2.

The few specific references to the justice of God in the apocryphal books have to do with his correction of Israel as

a sinful nation. (V. infra on Retribution, Chastisement, Repentance.)

Az. vs. 3. (Sw. Dan. iii, 27.)—on the misfortunes of the Jews—ὅτι δίκαιος εἶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου ἀληθινά, καὶ εὐθεῖαι αἱ ὁδοῖ σου, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ κρίσεις σου ἀλήθεια. "For thou art just in all the things which thou hast done, and all thy acts are right, and upright are thy ways, and all thy judgments are right."

> The verse closely resembles Neh. ix, 33 | και πασ. αι κρ. σ.] Rothstein KAP thinks these words may be a later addition | αληθεια] Some mss. αληθιναι | For αληθεια and αληθινα = אמת I prefer here the translation 'right' to 'truth' and 'true.'

Est. ch. iv. (Sw. iv, 17–18.)—Esther's prayer. καὶ νῦν ἡμάρτομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐδοξάσαμεν τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν. δίκαιος εἶ κύριε. "But now we have sinned against thee, and thou hast delivered us into the hands of our enemies, because we worshipped their gods. Just art thou, oh Lord."

Bar. ii, 9. καὶ ἐγρηγόρησε κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς οἷς ἐπήγαγε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὅτι δίκαιος ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν. "And the Lord was mindful of the evils which he brought upon us, for the Lord is just in all the things which he commanded us."

> The verse agrees almost verbatim with Dan. ix, 4. | οις] Van. και Several mss. οις | επηγ.] Van. + κυριος which is better omitted with several mss. | εργα αυτου κτλ.] Kneu. understands 'God commands only what is right and just.' | εγρηγ.] 'was mindful of'; we might take it to mean something like 'deliberately brought about' if it translates an original השיר.

c) *The Attribute of Mercy*

The forbearance and mercifulness of God are spoken of in almost all the books of the Old Testament, and in most of them the occasion for God to exercise mercy is the repentance of sinners. So in most of the apocryphal passages, the language of which is often reminiscent of Old Testament verses, God's mercy is shown

by his willingness to forgive sinners who confess their sins and repent.

One passage however is noteworthy as an illustration of God's gratuitous mercy to the righteous. In Tob. viii, 16–17. Raguel gives thanks to God for preserving the life of Tobias after he has slept with Sarah. εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὅτι ηὔφρανάς με καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετό μοι καθὼς ὑπενόουν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ ἔλεός σου ἐποίησας μεθ' ἡμῶν. 17. εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὅτι ἐλέησας δύο μονογενεῖς. ποίησον αὐτοῖς δέσποτα ἔλεος. συντέλεσον τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν ἐν ὑγιείᾳ μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἐλέους. "Blessed art thou because thou hast caused me to rejoice, and it has not happened to me as I had thought, but in accordance with thy great mercy thou hast dealt with us. 17. Blessed art thou because thou hast been merciful to two only children. Deal gently with them, Lord; let their lives be wholly lived in health, with joy and mercy ⟨from thee⟩."

πολυ ελεος σου] 64, 243 omit, Neu. בסגיאות מיבחך Lag. reads something quite different, omitting mention of 'mercy' | ελεος 2°] א, 44, 106 add και σωτηριαν | ελεος 2°] Neu. חדמא.

In Aris. § 188 one of the elders gives the king a counsel of perfection, to imitate God's forbearance and mildness and so win over troublesome subjects. βραχὺ δὲ ἐπισχὼν εἶπεν. οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα διευθύνοις μιμούμενος τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἐπιεικές. μακροθυμίᾳ γὰρ χρώμενος καὶ βλιμάζων τοὺς ἀξίους ἐπιεικέστερον ⟨ἢ⟩ καθώς εἰσιν ἄξιοι, μετατιθεὶς ἐκ τῆς κακίας καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἄξεις. "He paused a while and said, You would best manage by imitating the mildness shown by God in all things. If you are forbearing and treat offenders more leniently than they deserve, you will cause them to give up wrongdoing and bring them to repent."

βλιμαζων] F δοκιμαζων D^1 κριματαζων Codd. βλαμαζων | η καθως] Schmidt conj. η.

Aris. § 254. In answer to the king's question, how he might be rid of anger, another elder replies: πάντων δ' ὑπηκόων ὄντων καὶ μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου τίνος χάριν θυμωθήσεται; γινώσκειν δὲ δεῖ διότι θεὸς τὸν πάντα κόσμον διοικεῖ μετ' εὐμενείας καὶ χωρὶς ὀργῆς ἁπάσης. "If all are obedient and none opposes,

what reason is there to be angry? One should realize that God. governs the universe with kindness and without any anger."

ευμενειας] The word does not occur in LXX as translation of a Hebrew word.

The rabbis perhaps would not have gone so far as to say that God never feels anger, but Rabbi Eleazar, quoting Hosea i, 6., did say, Pesahim 87 b, אפי' בשעת כעסו של הקב"ה זוכר את רחמים "Even in the moment of the Holy One's anger he remembers mercy."

That God is only too ready to exercise mercy because of his very power, and because he loves his creation the author of Wis. xi, 25 ff. eloquently shows. ἀγαπῇς γὰρ τὰ ὄντα πάντα καὶ οὐδὲν βδελύσσῃ ὧν ἐποίησας οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν μισῶν τι κατεσκεύασας ... 27. φείδῃ δὲ πάντων, ὅτι σά ἐστι δέσποτα φιλόψυχε. "For thou lovest all the world, and nothing dost thou reject of that which thou hast created, for if thou hadst hated any thing thou wouldst not have made it. 27. Thou art forbearing with all, for they are thine own, oh Lord who lovest life."

φιλοψυχε] Grimm FKE 'hier = ὃς οὐ τέρπεται ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ ζώντων, i, 13.'

And in the same spirit Eleazar the priest, before imploring God to save Israel from the Egyptians, addresses him, 3 Mac. vi, 2. Βασιλεῦ μεγαλοκράτωρ, ὕψιστε, παντοκράτωρ θεέ, τὴν πᾶσαν διακυβερνῶν ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς κτίσιν. "Most powerful King, most high, sovereign God, who governest all creation with mercy."

As in so many passages of the Old Testament, so in the apocrypha God is said to be ever ready to show mercy to sinners who repent.

Man. vs. 6 ff. ἀμέτρητόν τε καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστον τὸ ἔλεος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας σου. 7. σὺ γὰρ εἶ κύριος ὕψιστος, εὔσπλαγχνος, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος, μετανοῶν ἐπὶ κακίαις ἀνθρώπων. "Immeasurable and unfathomable is the mercy of thy promise. 8. For thou, oh Lord, art most high, compassionate, forbearing and full of mercy, sorrowing over the evildoing of men."

μετανοων κτλ.] Syr. ܥܠ ܒܝܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ: Fritzsche FKE compares Joel ii. 13., Jon. iv, 2., iii, 10., Amos vii, 3.; whether the words

are to be taken as a reproduction of the LXX of Joel ii, 13., where the Hebr. has רעה, or as a reminiscence of the verse will affect our view as to how they should be translated. They may mean 'repenting of ⟨having brought⟩ suffering upon men'—so Ryssel KAP, or 'repenting of the evils of men'—so Ryle CAP. Cf. the latter's note.

Similar in thought to the passage, Wis. xii, 12–18. (v. supra p. 2) is a passage in Test. Zeb., ix. 7. ὅτι ἐλεήμων ἐστὶ καὶ εὔσπλαγχνος, μὴ λογιζόμενος κακίαν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, διότι σάρξ εἰσιν ... "For ⟨God⟩ is merciful and compassionate and does not take strict account of the evil done by men, because they are flesh ..."

The two texts α and β, A, S^1 agree substantially in this portion of the verse.

Test. Iss. vi, 3–4. καὶ ὑμεῖς εἴπατε ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν ὅπως ἐὰν ἁμαρτήσωσι, τάχειον ἐπιστρέψουσι πρὸς κύριον. 4. ὅτι ἐλεήμων ἐστὶ καὶ ἐξελεῖται αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. "And do you speak of these things to your children in order that, if they sin, they may hasten to return to the Lord. 4. For he is merciful and will deliver them, to return to their own land."

In Bar. ii, 27 (cf. also iii, 1–2) the justice of God's dealing with Israel is humbly acknowledged. καὶ ἐποίησας εἰς ἡμᾶς κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπιείκειάν σου καὶ κατὰ πάντα οἰκτιρμόν σου τὸν μέγαν. "And thou hast dealt with us, oh Lord our God, in accordance with all thy mildness and in accordance with all thy great mercy." Cf. Sir. ii, 11 (v. infra p. 18).

επιεικειαν] Lag. ܥܡ ܚܣܕ ; ܥܡ ܚܣܕ ܘܥܡ ܣܓܝܐ ܚܣܕ ܘܥܡ : επιεικ. does not occur in LXX as translation of a Hebr. word as Kneu. notes; he translates επιεικ. and οικτιρ. חסד ורחמים | The preceding and following verses describe the misfortunes of Israel as a result of disobeying God's commandments, perhaps with reference to Deut. xxviii, 62., as Whitehouse CAP suggests.

God's mercy to sinners and willingness to forgive them are shown even to the idolatrous Canaanites, Wis. xii, 10—11., tho one feels that the author is pretty certain that the Canaanites are too heavily handicapped by 'original sin' to avail themselves of the opportunity. κρινὼν δὲ καταβραχὺ ἐδίδους τόπον μετα-

νοίας, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι πονηρὰ ἡ γένεσις αὐτῶν καὶ ἔμφυτος ἡ κακία αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀλλαγῇ ὁ λογισμὸς αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. 11. σπέρμα γὰρ ἦν κατηραμένον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. "But in judging them gradually thou gavest them an opportunity to repent, altho thou knewest that their origin was bad and their evildoing was inborn and that their evil thoughts will never change. 11. For they were a race accursed from the beginning. (Gen. ix, 25.)" This notion that at any rate the heathen were not condemned without a chance to accept God's favor recalls the rabbinic teaching that the revelation given on Sinai was offered to the nations of the world as well as to Israel, but the former rejected it. Cf. Shabbat 88 b, Pes. K. 200 a, M. Tan. 28 a.

Bousset has a detailed discussion of the moral attributes of God (RJ pp. 437–443) in which he quotes these passages and others from the pseudepigrapha, but his conclusion that "the grace and mercy of God are never the foundation of belief, but only an addition, a last resort (Auskunftsmittel) of which the pious man is never certain (p. 443)" is hardly justified by these passages and others quoted by him under the heads of God as Father, and the like. (v. in seq.)

2. God as Father

The statement is sometimes made that the Jewish conception of God has none of the tenderness or human affection that are to be found in that of the New Testament. Those who make this statement must ignore the spirit of intimacy with God that is found in the Psalms, and forget the biblical references to God as father both of pious individuals and of Israel as a people. Cf. Ex. iv, 22., Deut. i, 31., viii, 5., xiv, 1., Hos. xi, 1., Isa. i, 2., xxx, 1. 9., lxiii, 16., Jer. iii, 14., Ps. ciii, 13. There are, further, abundant references in rabbinic writings to the same ideas. Cf. ART p. 21 ff., 51 ff., KNT p. 392 ff., RJ pp. 432–441, MJ vol. ii. p. 201 ff.; on the liturgy, ART p. 55, KNT l. c., PB p. xxiii. We may content ourselves with one quotation. In Jeru. Berakot 13a Rabbi Simlai compares for his disciples the apparent nearness of idols with the

apparent remoteness of God "who is near in every manner of nearness" קרוב בכל מיני קריבות.

In the apocrypha God is represented as father both of individuals and of Israel.

Sir. iv, 10. γίνου ὀρφανοῖς ὡς πατὴρ καὶ ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς τῇ μητρι αὐτῶν. καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς ὑιὸς ὑψίστου καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε μᾶλλον ἢ μήτηρ σου. "Be to orphans like a father, and take the place of a husband to their mother. Then you will be like a son of the Most High, and he will love you more than your mother." The Hebrew is different in the second half of the verse, ואל יקראך בן ויחנך ויצילך משחת, "and God will call you ⟨his⟩ son and will be gracious to you and deliver you from destruction."

> ως υιος υψιστ.] Sm. explains the Gr. 'der an dem starken Ausdruck (of the Hebrew) Anstoss nimmt' as 'Umschreibung.' | ἢ μητηρ σου] Van. ἡ Compl. ἢ; Fritzsche FKE 'zu schreiben ist ἤ. Vet. Lat. *magis quam*'; Sm. 'ist Gr. auch hier im Unrecht und er hat die Stelle nach Jes. 49, 15. 66. 13 verschönern lassen'; Lag. ⟨ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲉ⟩. The Hebr. ויצילך משחת is in harmony with the rabbinic idea that charitableness delivers from death.

In Sir. xxiii, 1. God is addressed as κύριε πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα ζωῆς μου. "Lord, Father and master of my life."

In Wis. ii, 16–18. the ungodly scoff at the pious man who "pretends that God is his father," ἀλαζονεύεται πατέρα θεόν. They will put his assertion to the test. 18. εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ δίκαιος ὑιὸς θεοῦ ἀντιλήψεται καὶ ῥύσεται αὐτὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνθεστηκότων. "For if the righteous man is a son of God, he (God) will protect him and deliver him from the hand of his enemies."

Test. Levi iv, 2. Εἰσήκουσεν οὖν ὁ ὕψιστος τῆς προσευχῆς σου τοῦ διελεῖν σε ἀπὸ ἀδικίας καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ υἱὸν καὶ θεράποντα καὶ λειτουργὸν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. "Therefore the Most High has heard your prayer that he may remove you from all wrongdoing and that you may become his son and a servant and a minister in his presence."

> On this verse Charles CT remarks 'The view that the individual Israelite was a son of God was already current in the second century B.C.' It was probably current before that time. v. supra p. 8.

When Philo speaks of God as πατήρ, usually in the phrase πατὴρ καὶ ποιήτης, as in De Opificio § 10 and De Monarchia § 14, he has a different conception of God in mind, a purely cosmological one, probably derived from Plato's Timaeus.

God is also spoken of as father of Israel in several apocryphal passages.

Tob. xiii, 4., where Tobit extols God and calls upon his fellow exiles to join him in praise. ὑψοῦτε αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον παντὸς ζῶντος καθότι αὐτὸς κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας. "Extol him before all living, for he is our Lord and our God and our Father for ever and ever."

> και θεος ημ. κτλ.] Van. και θεος αυτος πατηρ ημων ℵ και αυτος θεος ημων κ. αυτος πατηρ ημων κ. αυτος θεος; other mss. have a slightly different word-order but substantially the same language; Lag. ܗܘ ܐܠܗܢ ܘܐܒܢ ܘܗܘ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗܬܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ; | Fritzsche FKE compares Deut. xxxii, 3., 6.

Est. viii. (Sw. viii, 15–16.) Artaxerxes writes, Ἰουδαίους εὑρίσκομεν οὐ κακούργους ὄντας, δικαιοτάτοις δὲ πολιτευομένους νόμοις, ὄντας δὲ υἱοὺς τοῦ ὑψίστου μεγίστου ζῶντος θεοῦ. "We find that the Jews are not evildoers, but live under perfectly just laws and are sons of the most high, great, living God."

> δικαιοτ.] ℵ^{v} αναγκαιοτατοις ℵ^{ac} δικαιοτ. | Fritzsche FKE is of course right in holding this to be a Jewish point of view, not a Persian one.

Wis. xvi, 26. (vs. 20 ff. are a sort of Midrash on the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, and the giving of the manna.) ἵνα μάθωσιν οἱ υἱοί σου οὓς ἠγάπησας κύριε ὅτι οὐχ αἱ γενέσεις τῶν καρπῶν τρέφουσιν ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ τὸ ῥῆμα σου τοὺς σοὶ πιστεύοντας διατηρεῖ. "In order that thy sons whom thou didst love, oh Lord, might know that not the products of the earth nourish man, but that thy word preserves those who believe in thee."

In Wis. xii, 20–21. the author argues in a way that reminds one of the rabbinic קל וחומר that if God has been forbearing with the idolatrous Canaanites he must surely have been infinitely patient with his own people Israel. Εἰ γὰρ ἐχθροὺς παίδων σου καὶ ὀφειλομένους θανάτου μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐτιμώρησας προσοχῆς

καὶ διέσεως, δοὺς χρόνους καὶ τόπον δι' ὧν ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῆς κακίας 21. μετὰ πόσης ἀκριβείας ἔκρινας τοὺς υἱούς σου ὧν τοῖς πατράσιν ὅρκους καὶ συνθήκας ἔδωκας ἀγαθῶν ὑποσχέσεων. "For if the enemies of thy servants who were deserving of death thou didst punish with so great deliberation and leniency, giving them time and opportunity to renounce their evildoing, 21. with how great consideration didst thou judge thy sons, to whose fathers thou gavest oaths and assurances of good promises."

προσοχης] Grimm FKE 'Aufmerksamkeit' | διεσεως] So ℵ, X; Van. δεησεως 96. διεσωσας; several mss. omit; Lag. has something quite different, ܐܬܠܡܕ ܕܐܠ ,ܥܒܕ ܕܥܒ ,ܘܒܕ ܥܒܕ, perhaps reading δεησεως. Grimm reads δεησεως and tries to justify it 'auf exegetischem Wege'; he says it is equivalent to 'Herablassung'; Siegfried KAP considers διεσεως a gloss 'zu dem schwierigen δεησεως' and translates 'Beschwören'; Holmes CAP reads διεσεως and translates 'indulgence.'

3. The Covenant

If we follow the order of the books of the Old Testament we read of a series of covenants which God entered into with Israel. In Gen. xv, 18. ff., God makes a covenant with Abraham to give Canaan to him and his posterity. In Ex. xxxiv, 10. ff., after God commands Moses to rewrite the tablets of stone, he speaks of making a covenant with Israel. Again in 2 Sam. xxiii, 5., we have God's "eternal covenant" with David. The frequent Deuteronomic references to God's covenant with the Fathers and to Israel's corresponding obligations have their parallels in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. (Cf. Davidson HDB vol. i, p. 512 ff.)

The apocryphal authors, as we should expect, appeal to the covenant that God made with the Fathers, both as a mark of Israel's glory and as an encouragement to Israel in time of affliction or struggle.

The famous chapters in Sirach, xliv and xlv, in which Israel's heroes are celebrated, make reference in the case of each of them to the covenant which God made with him ... xliv, 17–18. with Noah, 19–21. with Abraham, 22. with Isaac, xlv, 15. with Moses and Aaron, 23–24. with Phineas, 25. with David, and, according

to the Hebrew and Syriac, 24. with Simeon, the high priest. In these verses, as in the Old Testament, the Greek uses the word διαθήκη, Hebrew ברית, Syriac ܩܝܡܐ.

In Sir. xxiv, 23. after the poetic description of the beauty of Wisdom the author identifies Wisdom with the law. ταῦτα πάντα βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ ὑψίστου. "All these are the book of the covenant of the most high God." He then, we may say, quotes Deut. xxxiii, 14.

> There is no Hebrew for the verse | θεου υψ.] 248 adds εκ του δευτερονομιου.

For the reference in Wis. xii, 21. το ὅρκους καὶ συνθήκας ἀγαθῶν ὑποσχέσεων v. supra p. 11.

Az. vs. 12. (Sw. Dan. iii, 36.) refers to the covenant with Abraham, and uses the language of Gen. xxii, 17.

In the first and second books of the Maccabees the militant Jews are several times reminded by their leaders of the covenant God has made with their fathers. In 1 Mac. ii, 20. Mattathias says ἀλλ' ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ υἱοί μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου πορευσόμεθα ἐν διαθήκῃ πατέρων ἡμῶν. "But I and my sons and my brothers will abide by the covenant ⟨made⟩ with our fathers."

> πορευσομ.] Grimm FKE 'Das Gegenteil von παραβαίνειν oder παρέρχεσθαι.'

In 1 Mac. ii, 50. the exhortation is given καὶ νῦν τέκνα ζηλώσατε τῷ νόμῳ καὶ δότε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ διαθήκης πατέρων ἡμῶν ... 54. Φινεες ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ζηλῶσαι ζῆλον ἔλαβε διαθήκην ἱερωσύνης αἰωνίας. "And now, my sons, fight for the law, and give your lives for the covenant ⟨made⟩ with our fathers. 54. Phineas our father for his great zeal received a covenant of priesthood for ever."

> πατερων ημ.] ℵ V υμων | ιερωσ. αιων.] V agrees; A ιερωσ. αγιας: ℵ κληρον διαθηκας αιωνιας ιερωσυνης. cf. Num. xxv, 7. 13.

1 Mac. iv, 10. καὶ νῦν βοήσωμεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἴ πως ἐλεήσει ἡμᾶς καὶ μνησθήσεται διαθήκας πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ συντρίψει τὴν παρεμβολὴν ταύτην κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν σήμερον. "And now let us call upon Heaven, that he may have

mercy on us and remember the covenant ⟨made⟩ with our fathers, and destroy this army before us today."

τον ουρ.] A and several mss. omit | ελεησει] A and several mss. ει εθελησει which Grimm FKE says 'mag als Reminiscenz an LXX Ps. 21, 9 ... entstanden sein'; Kautzsch KAP translates 'Gefallen haben' = θελησει; Oesterley CAP 'have mercy' = ελεησει.

The letter sent to the Egyptian Jews by their coreligionists in Palestine begins, after the form of address, with the greeting, 2 Mac. i, 2., καὶ ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ μνησθείη τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ τῶν πιστῶν. "And may God be good to you and remember his covenant with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, his faithful servants."

πιστων] Grimm FKE 'in Verbindung mit θεραπων von Moses, LXX 4 Mos. 12, 7.'; Hebrew here has נאמן.

On 2 Mac. viii, 14–15. v. infra p. 15.

The author of 1 Maccabees condemns the Hellenising Jews for their apostasy and faithlessness to the covenant. i, 15. καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας καὶ ἐξεύχθησαν τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν. "And they covered up their circumcision and they gave up the holy covenant and joined themselves to the nations and sold themselves to do evil." (On the covenant of circumcision v. Gen. xxii, 9–14.)

In Bar. ii, 35. after the description of the afflictions which have deservedly come upon the exiles, the author holds out the hope of a return to Palestine thru the covenant which God will make with them. καὶ στήσω αὐτοῖς διαθήκην αἰώνιον τοῦ εἶναί με αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν, καὶ οὐ κινήσω ἔτι τὸν λαόν μου Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἧς ἔδωκα αὐτοῖς. "And I shall make an eternal covenant with them so that I shall be their God, and they will be my people, and I shall no more remove Israel from the land which I gave them."

Fritzsche FKE compares Jer. xxxi, xxxiii; so Kneu. 'd. i. der neue Bund, welchen Jeremias ... und Ezekiel ... in schwerer Unglückszeit wieder in Aussicht stellten.'

Schechter, ART p. 179, contrasts the rabbinic idea of the merit of the Fathers (v. in seq.), which was generally believed to have ceased at a certain time, with the idea of the covenant which was considered " unconditional and everlasting, independent of Israel's action." From the language of such passages as Sifre 31 b. one sees that the covenant is regarded as still in force. אף העובר על מצוה אחת פורק עול ומפר ברית. " Even one who transgresses only one commandment throws off the yoke ⟨of the law⟩ and abrogates the covenant." (As to which covenant is meant v. ART note 7. p. 220.)

Treitel, who emphasizes the contrast between the universalism of Philo and the particularism of the rabbis, finds no allusion to the covenant in his writings, p. 22. " Nirgends auch, soweit ich's überblicken kann, ist bei Philo von eigentlichem Bundesverhältnisse Gottes zu Israel die Rede. Daß ‚der Lenker des Alls sich der Verwaistheit und Verlassenheit Israel's annimmt', wie er De Creat. Princ. II 36 ff. sagt, ist doch etwas anderes." *

4. The Merit of the Fathers

Not only is Israel thought of as bound to God by the covenant which he made with the Fathers, but they benefit, according to the rabbis, by the merits which the Fathers acquired and which may under certain circumstances be imputed to their posterity. (Marmorstein has made an exhaustive study of the doctrine of merits in rabbinic literature. Cf. ART p. 170 ff., KNT p. 117 ff., RJ p. 227, MJ vol. i, p. 538 ff.) The merits of the Fathers are imputed to Israel in rabbinic teaching only under certain conditions, and were generally believed to have ceased at a certain time. Not only Abraham, Isaac and Jacob but Moses, David and others were included among those whose merits helped to endear to God the Jews of a later time. Of all the Fathers Abraham is the one whom the rabbis most often distinguish, as also Christian writers, cf. Math. iii, 9., Justin Martyr Tryph. § 140.

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* Prof. Moore writes ' Consider De Mutatione Nominum § 52 f. (Gen. xvii, 2), where Philo says that he had written two treatises περὶ διαθηκῶν, and will not repeat himself. (Cf. Euseb. H. E. ii, 18.)'

For the doctrine in apocryphal literature we may cite the following passages.

Az. vs. 11. (Sw. Dan. iii, 3–5.) In vs. 10. God is implored not to annul his covenant. καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσῃς τὸ ἔλεός σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν διὰ Ἀβραὰμ τὸν ἠγαπημένον ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ διὰ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν δοῦλόν σου καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸν ἅγιον σου. "And do thou not remove thy mercy from us, for the sake of Abraham beloved by thee, and for the sake of Isaac thy servant and Israel thy holy one."

Fritzsche FKE 'Abraham sonst gewöhnlich ὁ φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ genannt, heißt hier und 11 Chron. 20, 7 der Geliebte Gottes, was dem Sinne nach übereinkommt.'

2 Mac. viii, 14–15. οἱ δὲ τὰ περιλελειμμένα πάντα ἐπώλουν, ὁμοῦ δὲ τὸν κύριον ἠξίουν ῥύσασθαι τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Νικάνορος πρὶν συντυχεῖν πεπραμένους. 15. καὶ εἰ μὴ δι' αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν διαθήκας, καὶ ἕνεκεν τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπικλήσεως τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. "But some sold all their remaining possessions, and at the same time prayed the Lord to save those who had been sold ⟨into slavery⟩ by the impious Nicanor before the battle. 15. And if not for their own sakes, at least for the sake of the covenants ⟨made⟩ with their fathers, and because they had been called by his revered and glorious name."

διαθηκας] V συνθηκας; four mss. have γενομενας before.

Test. Levi xv, 4., part of a prophecy of evil to overtake the Jews. Καὶ εἰ μὴ δι' Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν εἷς ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός μου οὐ μὴ καταλειφθῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. "And if it were not for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, our fathers, not one of my posterity would be left on earth."

τ. πατερας] Charles' text has των πατερων ημων ελεος ληψεσθαι | σπερμ. μου] So B, S; other mss. have υμων or ημων.

Test. Asher vii, 7. Ἀλλ' ἐπισυνάξει ὑμᾶς κύριος ἐν πίστει δι' ἐλπίδα εὐσπλαγχνίας αὐτοῦ, διὰ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. "But the Lord will gather you together in faith and

hope of his compassion, for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob."

κυριος] Charles' text omits; several mss. have it | δι' ελπιδα] Charles' text omits | Charles thinks vs. 7 is a 1st century addition.

Philo, in enumerating the ways in which the Jews are admitted to God's favor, includes the prayers of their leaders on behalf of their children, which are heeded by God. De Praemiis § 166. (M. II p. 436). δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγέτων τοῦ ἔθνους ὁσιότητι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφειμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἄπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐνδεικνύμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἱκετείας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰώθασι ποιεῖσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς ...

5. Reward and Punishment

The prevailing notion of reward and punishment in the Old Testament is the simple belief, to be found in other religions, that those who are righteous and obey God's law will be rewarded in this life, and those who disobey will be punished by suffering or death. In rabbinic theology the time of judgment is shifted to the future life but the basis of judgment is the same. Rabbi Akiba, Rabbi Eleazar and Rabbi Tarphon, among many others, refer specifically to the judgment of God based upon man's works. Cf. Bial. vol. ii p. 233 ff., MJ vol. ii p. 287 ff. There were of course other factors to be considered. The righteous sometimes suffer, and their suffering has to be reconciled with the idea of God's retributive justice. (V. infra under Chastisement.) The refinement of rabbinic speculation found one explanation of the apparent exemption from punishment of the wicked in the theory that they were rewarded in this life for whatever good they had done, in order that their punishment in the next life might be the more complete, and similarly the righteous were punished in this life for their sins, in order that their happiness might be complete in the life to come. Cf. Bereshit Rabba, Par. xxxiii., Rosen. p. 126.

The Old Testament notion is still to be found in the apocrypha, altho in the latest of these the idea has an eschatological coloring.

We may first consider the subject of reward, and in the next place that of punishment.

a) *Reward of the Righteous*

In Aris. § 18 the author of the letter prays to God—presumably not the Jewish God, but the God whom all nations worship under different names—to help him persuade the Egyptian king to release the Jewish captives. Of God's help he has great hope because of the righteousness of his request. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν ὁσιότητι νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι ποιεῖν, κατευθύνει τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ὁ κυριεύων ἁπάντων θεός. "For when men intend to do anything with purity of thought in the cause of righteousness and with a good end, God, who disposes all things, causes their actions and their efforts to prosper."

The God of the Jews protects the righteous in the same way, according to the Jewish elder who answers the king's question, how he might be free of suffering. Aris. § 233. Εἰ μηδένα βλάπτοι, πάντας δὲ ὠφελοῖ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ κατακολουθῶν. τοὺς γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς καρποὺς ἀλυπίαν κατασκευάζειν. ἱκετεύειν δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἵνα μὴ τὰ παρὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἡμῶν ἀνακύπτοντα βλάπτῃ, λέγω δὴ οἷον θάνατοί τε καὶ νόσοι καὶ λύπαι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ⟨αὐτῷ⟩ δὲ σοὶ εὐσεβεῖ καθεστῶτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν προσέλθοι. "If he harms no one, but helps all, in the pursuit of righteousness, he will enjoy the fruits of righteousness, which is freedom from suffering. Let him pray to God moreover that none of those things which are beyond our control may come upon him, such things, that is, as death and sickness and like forms of suffering. If you live such a life of piety, none of these things will befall you."

In Sir. xxvii, 8–9., tho there is no express reference to the reward of the righteous, we may infer that some such thing is meant by contrast with the fate of the wicked for whom sin "lies in wait like a lion for its prey." ἐαν διώκῃς τὸ δίκαιον, καταλήψῃ καὶ ἐνδύσῃ αὐτὸ ὡς ποδήρη δόξης. 9. πετεινὰ πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς καταλύσει, καὶ ἀλήθεια πρὸς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους

αὐτὴν ἐπανάξει. "If you pursue righteousness you will attain ⟨it⟩, and will put it on like a splendid garment. Birds of a kind flock together, and truth will come to those who strive for it."

There is no Hebrew | Perhaps αληθεια is to be identified with the divine wisdom or law; cf. Smend's note on Sir. iv, 28. in seq.

With great simplicity and eloquence it is said in Sir. iv, 28. ἕως τοῦ θανάτου ἀγώνισαι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ σοῦ. "Until death strive in behalf of righteousness, and the Lord God will fight for you."

αγωνισαι] Str. התעצה: Schechter conj. התעצם Lag. ܐܬܬܩܦ | αληθ.] Str. צדק Lag. ܩܫܬܐ; Sm. 'die Peschita setzt קושטא für צדק, LXX wenigstens Jes. 41, 26 ἀληθής für צדיק.'

In Sir. ii, 7–11. the author joyfully proclaims the reward of righteousness, and appeals to history for support of his belief in the goodness of God to those who have faith in him. οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ἀναμείνατε τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐκλίνητε ἵνα μὴ πέσητε. 8. οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον πιστεύσατε αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ μὴ πταίσῃ ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν. 9. οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον ἐλπίσατε εἰς ἀγαθὰ καὶ εἰς εὐφροσύνην αἰῶνος καὶ ἔλεος. 10. ἐμβλέψατε εἰς ἀρχαίας γενεὰς καὶ ἴδετε τίς ἐνεπίστευσεν κυρίῳ καὶ κατῃσχύνθη; ἢ τίς ἐνέμεινεν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγκατελείφθη ἢ τίς ἐπεκαλέσατο αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπερεῖδεν αὐτόν; 11. διότι οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων ὁ κύριος ... "You who fear the Lord look for his mercy, and do not turn aside, lest you fall. 8. You who fear the Lord trust in him and your reward will not fail. 9. You who fear the Lord hope for good things and eternal joy and mercy. 10. Look at the generations of old and consider who ever trusted in the Lord and was confounded, or who ever remained faithful to his worship and was abandoned, or who ever called upon him, whom he did not heed? 11. For compassionate and merciful is the Lord ..."

φοβουμενοι] In the sense of 'revering, worshipping'; so φοβω in vs. 10 I have translated 'worship' | πταισῃ] Four mss. have πεσῃ Lag. ܢܦܠ ; Sm. 'Syroh. setzt das Verbum ⟨חוב⟩ öfter für πταίειν und vielleicht stand hier יחוב. Gr. hätte dann πταίσῃ ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν in Umbildung des Ausdrucks πταίειν τῆς ἐλπίδος gesetzt'; Ryssel KAP 'in dem

S. von fallen = verlorengehen'; Oesterley CAP translates 'he will not withhold your reward,' following Syr.; πταιειν in LXX = נפל Niphal. v. HR | ελεος] Van. ελεους, probably a mistake of the copyist | After vs. 9 four mss. add οτι δοσις αιωνια μετα χαρας το αντοποδομα αυτου. Sm. 'augenscheinlich Dublette zu b.'

The passage in Tobit, xii, 7. (for which there is no Aramaic corresponding), is, because of the uncertainty of the text, doubtful as a reference to the reward of the righteous, but may be noticed. Raphael exhorts Tobit and Tobias to proclaim God's glory. μυστήριον βασιλέως καλὸν κρύψαι, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλύπτειν ἐνδόξως. ἀγαθὸν ποιήσατε καὶ κακὸν οὐχ εὑρήσει ὑμᾶς. "It is well to conceal the secret of a king, but the works of God one should reveal with praise. Do good, and evil will not befall you."

αγαθον—υμας] A omits, Lag. ܠܐ ܢܫܟܚ ܠܟ ܕܛܒ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܟܚ ܠܟ ܒܝܫ evidently reading ουχ ευρεθησεται εν υμιν: Rosen. pp. 123–124 thinks this verse is 'die eigentliche Lehre dieser Erzählung'; he seems to prefer the readings of A; v. on Tob. 1, 6. p.; Löhr KAP omits translation of αγαθον—υμας; Simpson CAP keeps it.

Two passages, Wis. iii, 1–4., 13–15. and v, 16–17., seem to refer to a reward to be given after death, tho in the latter passage and in iii, 5–9. Grimm with Bretschneider and others understands a reward to be given on earth. Wis. iii, 1–4., 13–15. Δικαίων δὲ ψυχαὶ ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἅψηται αὐτῶν βάσανος. 2. ἔδοξαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀφρόνων τεθνάναι, καὶ ἐλογίσθη κάκωσις ἡ ἔξοδος αὐτῶν. 3. καὶ ἡ ἀφ' ἡμῶν πορεία σύντριμμα, οἱ δὲ εἰσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ. 4. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὄψει ἀνθρώπων ἐὰν κολασθῶσιν, ἡ ἐλπὶς αὐτῶν ἀθανασίας πλήρης ... 13. ὅτι μακαρία σπεῖρα ἡ ἀμίαντος, ἥτις οὐκ ἔγνω κοίτην ἐν παραπτώματι, ἕξει καρπὸν ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ ψυχῶν. 14. καὶ εὐνοῦχος ὁ μὴ ἐργασάμενος ἐν χειρὶ ἀνόμημα μηδὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου πονηρά, δοθήσεται [γὰρ] αὐτῷ τῆς πίστεως χάρις ἐκλέκτη καὶ κλῆρος ἐν ναῷ κυρίου θυμηρέστερος. 15. ἀγαθῶν γὰρ πόνων καρπὸς εὐκλεής, καὶ ἀδιάπτωτος ἡ ῥίζα τῆς φρονήσεως. "But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment will touch them. 2. They seemed, in the eyes of fools, to have died, and as a misfortune their end was counted. 3. and their departure

from us to be destruction, but they are in peace. 4. For even if in the sight of men they are punished, their hope is full of immortality ... 13. For blessed is the barren woman who is chaste. She who has not sinfully lain ⟨with men⟩ will have a reward at the judgment of souls. 14. And the eunuch who has not done anything unlawful with his hand, or thought of wicked things against the Lord, special favor will be shown him for his faith and a more desirable place in the temple of the Lord. 15. For the reward of good deeds is glorious, and imperishable is the root of wisdom."

ναῳ] Grimm FKE ' Der Tempel des Herrn ist der Himmel, vgl. Ps. 11, 4. 18, 7. Hab. 2, 20 ... Unsere Stelle enthält eine allegorische Wendung von Jes. 56, 3—5.' | φρονησεως] In the sense of ' understanding and obeying God's will.'

Wis. v, 16—17. δίκαιοι δὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῶσι, καὶ ἐν κυρίῳ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ φροντὶς αὐτῶν παρὰ ὑψίστῳ. 17. διὰ τοῦτο λήψονται τὸ βασίλειον τῆς εὐπρεπείας καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦ κάλλους ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου ὅτι τῇ δεξιᾷ σκεπάσει αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ βραχίονι ὑπερασπιεῖ αὐτῶν. "But the righteous live for ever, and in the Lord is their reward, and the care of them is with the Most High. 17. Therefore they will receive the kingdom of glory and the crown of beauty from the hand of the Lord, for he will protect them with his right hand and shield them with his arm."

παρα υψιστῳ] Four mss. have παρα υψιστου Lag. صصنم | Grimm FKE '... wir hier anzunehmen haben, dass Pseudosalomo in prophetischem Style und zum Theil in Anschluss an alttestamentl. Schilderung die dereinstige glückliche Wendung des Geschicks der frommen Israeliten noch hier auf Erden ... beschreibe.'

b) *Punishment of the Wicked*

Some of the passages quoted in the preceding section are balanced by others which describe the retribution which is to overtake the wicked. The apocryphal books in many places echo the sentiment of those psalms which call down divine vengeance upon those who transgress God's law and oppress his worshippers.

As we should expect, the later Hellenistic literature reflects the intensity of the national spirit during and after the Maccabean struggle and the hostile feeling against the Hellenising Jews who sympathized with the foreign oppressors. The Old Testament and the literature of later Judaism are not conceived in so unforgiving a spirit as certain critics charge; thruout all of it the hope of divine forgiveness is encouragingly held out to repentant sinners, just as the idea of retribution in the case of Israel is softened into the idea of corrective chastisement; but with unrepentant sinners, whether within Israel or without, the authors of biblical and post-biblical books are uncompromisingly severe. We may first examine the passages dealing with the punishment of Israel, which, as in the earlier historical books of the bible and in the prophetic writings, illustrate a form of historical pragmatism.

In Jud. v, 17. ff. Achior the Ammonite gives Holofernes information about the Jews, whom the Assyrians are planning to attack, and after briefly sketching the outline of Jewish history, explains that their suffering and captivity were punishment for their sins. καὶ ἕως οὐχ ἥμαρτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν, ἦν τὰ ἀγαθὰ μετ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι θεὸς μισῶν ἀδικίαν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν. 18. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἧς διέθετο αὐτοῖς, ἐξωλοθρεύθησαν ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις ἐπὶ πολὺ σφόδρα καὶ ᾐχμαλωτεύθησαν εἰς γῆν οὐκ ἰδίαν, καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν ἐγενήθη εἰς ἔδαφος, καὶ αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπεναντίων. "And so long as they did not sin before their God it went well with them, because a God who hates unrighteousness is with them. 18. But when they turned aside from the way which he had fixed for them, they were destroyed in many wars for a very long time and were taken captive to a land not their own, and the temple of their God was razed to the ground, and their cities were taken by their enemies."

ἐξωλοθρευθ.] Fritzsche FKE 'ist hier relativ zu fassen' | ἐπι πολυ σφοδρα] Fritzsche 'auf sehr lange, vgl. Weish. 18, 20, Sirach 49, 11 ... oder besser vielfach, häufig': Löhr KAP 'auf lange hinaus': Cowley CAP 'very sore'; the expression may mean either 'to a great extent' or 'for a long time'; v. Liddell and Scott s. v. πολυς.

Jud. vii, 28. μαρτυρόμεθα ὑμῖν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν ὅς ἐκδίκει ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν. "We call to witness before you, heaven and earth and our God, who punishes us in accordance with our sins and the sins of our fathers."

ος] א ως | αμαρτ. τ. πατερ. ημ.] One Gr. ms. and Lag. omit.

In Jud. xi, 10 ff. Judith confirms the words of Achior in her speech to Holofernes. διὸ δέσποτα κύριε μὴ παρέλθῃς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ κατάθου αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, ὅτι ἀληθής ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκδικᾶται τὸ γένος ἡμῶν, οὐ κατισχύει ῥομφαία ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐὰν μὴ ἁμαρτῶσιν εἰς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν. "Wherefore, my lord and master, do not disregard his words, but fix them in your mind, because they are true. For our nation will not be punished nor will the sword prevail against them unless they sin against their God."

Tob. iii, 4. παρήκουσαν γὰρ τῶν ἐντολῶν σου καὶ ἔδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς διαρπαγὴν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ θάνατον καὶ παραβολὴν ὀνειδισμοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι ἐν οἷς ἐσκορπίσμεθα. "For they (i.e. my fathers) disobeyed thy commandments and thou didst give us over to despoiling and captivity and death and ⟨to be⟩ a byword of reproach to all the nations among whom we are scattered."

παρηκουσαν] א και παρηκουσα, $א^{ca}$ -σαν Lag. ܐܫܬܡܥܘ ℣ Neu. ואעדינא | εσκορπισμ.] א ημας διεσκορπισας Lag. ܘܦܙܪܬܢ Neu. דאנליתא יתנא.

Ep. Jer. vs. 1.—the prophet is supposed to have written a letter to the Jews who were about to be exiled—διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἃς ἡμαρτήκατε ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀχθήσεσθε εἰς Βαβυλῶνα αἰχμάλωτοι ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονόσορ βασιλέως τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. "Because of the sins which you have committed before God, you will be taken to Babylon as captives by Nebuchodonosor, king of the Babylonians."

Similarly in Az. vs. 4–6. (Sw. Dan. iii, 29–31.), Est. iv (Sw. iv, 17.) and Bar. i, 15 ff. (with the wording of Dan. viii, 7–10.), the misfortunes that have come upon Israel and Jerusalem are declared to be a just punishment for their sins.

Before turning to the passages on the punishment of the unrighteous, we may first notice a remarkable instance in 2 Mac. xii, 39 ff., in which the author attributes the death of those few Jews who had fallen in the battle with Gorgias near Jamnia to the carrying of heathen images. Apparently not even their loyalty to the Jewish cause could excuse the grave sin of idolatry. 40. εὗρον δὲ ἑκάστου τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὸ τοὺς χιτῶνας ἱερώματα τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰαμνείας εἰδώλων ἀφ' ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀπείργει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. τοῖς δὲ πᾶσι σαφὲς ἐγένετο διὰ τήνδε τὴν αἰτίαν τούσδε πεπτωκέναι. "For they found under the armor of everyone of the dead, images of the idols of Jamnia, ⟨the use⟩ of which the law forbids Jews, and it was clear to all of them that it was for this reason that those men had fallen."

χιτωνας] Most commentators translate 'shirt,' but χιτων may mean 'coat of mail' when applied to soldiers' dress; v. Liddell and Scott | ιερωμ.] Not found elsewhere in LXX; Lag. ؛ممتلاهم ؛ههمة ؛ممحا; Grimm FKE 'die Allgemeinheit des Begriffs ἱερώματα erlaubt auch an geweihte kleine Nachbildungen der Götzenstatuen zu denken'; Kamphausen KAP translates 'Zaubermittel'; Moffatt CAP 'amulets' | νομος] Grimm refers to Deut. vii, 26.

Particularly frequent in Sirach, Wisdom and the Testaments is mention of the retribution which is to overtake unrighteous individuals.

Sir. xxvii, 25–29. ὁ βάλλων λίθον εἰς ὕψος ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ βάλλει. καὶ πληγὴ δολία διελεῖ τραύματα. 26. ὁ ὀρύσσων βόθρον εἰς αὐτὸν ἐμπεσεῖται, καὶ ὁ ἱστῶν παγίδα ἐν αὐτῇ ἁλώσεται. 27. ὁ ποιῶν πονηρὰ εἰς αὐτὸν κυλισθήσεται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐπιγνῷ πόθεν ἥκει αὐτῷ. 28. ἐμπαιγμὸς καὶ ὀνειδισμὸς ὑπερηφάνων, καὶ ἡ ἐκδίκησις ὡς λέων ἐνεδρεύσει αὐτούς. 29. παγίδι ἁλώσονται οἱ εὐφραινόμενοι πτώσει εὐσεβῶν, καὶ ὀδύνη καταναλώσει αὐτοὺς πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν. "If a man throws a stone into the air, it will fall upon his own head, and a treacherous blow ...(?) wounds. 26. He who digs a pit will fall into it, and he who lays a trap will be caught in it. 27. If a man does evil it will come back upon him, and he will not know from where it came to him. 28. Scoffing and abuse ⟨are

the part⟩ of the insolent, but punishment, like a lion, lies in wait for them. 29. In a trap they will be caught who rejoice at the downfall of the pious, and suffering will destroy them before their death."

> There is no Hebrew | διελει] A* ελει Lag. ; Fritzsche FKE 'Eigen ist der Ausdruck διελεῖ. Sollte ... פצע gestanden haben?'; Sm. 'LXX setzt διαιρεῖν, διαίρεσις auch für הנחיל und נחלה. Danach möchte ich vermuthen נחלה מכתו = dessen eigene Wunde ist unheilbar'; Ryssel KAP 'darum ist anzunehmen, dass G die Verbalform יְפַצֵּץ, oder, was noch besser passt ... פצע, er verwundet (vgl. 1 Kön. 20, 37) fälschlich für das Nennwort פֶּצַע hielt' | On vs. 26. cf. Prov. xxvi, 27., Eccles. x, 8., Ps. vii, 16. | εμπεσειται] Lag. ; Sm. 'Letzteres wird man vorziehen müssen, obwohl Gr. mit Koh. 10, 8 stimmt' | υπερηφανων] One ms. υπερηφανω; Sm. 'Von zwei Nominativen konnte im Hebräischen ein Genetiv nicht abhängen'; but the two nouns may have been in the abs. state, and the construction to be understood as I have translated | και] If for Hebr. ו, it may be adversative | αυτους 1°] Van. αυτον several mss. have αυτους | ευφρ.—ευσεβων] Lag. omits | οδυνη—θαν. αυτων] Lag. (snares) ; Sm. 'Das scheint als ursprünglich'; cf. Ryssel KAP ad. l.; the Greek seems to me to be quite satisfactory.

In two other passages in Sirach, xl, 10 ff. and xli, 5 ff., retribution takes the form of evil renown and an evil posterity, as also in Wis. iii, 12.

Sir. xl, 13–15. χρήματα ἀδίκων ὡς ποταμὸς ξηρανθήσεται ... (13 b and 14 are probably a mistranslation of the original and are difficult to fit in as they stand). 15. ἔκγονα ἀσεβῶν οὐ πληθυνεῖ κλάδους, καὶ ῥίζαι ἀκάθαρτοι ἐπ' ἀκροτόμου πέτρας. "The possessions of the unrighteous like a ⟨winter⟩ stream will be dried up ...—15. The stock of the impious does not put forth many branches, and the roots of unclean men ⟨grow⟩ on a bare rock."

> χρημ. αδικ.] Lag. Str. בחול אל חול, M. חיל בחיל; Sm. 'Gr. und Syr. führen auf משל, dessen ו sich in der Texteslesart erhalten hat' | ως ποτ. ξηρ.] Lag. Str. כנחל איתן; Sm. 'für gewöhnlich ist ein איתן trocken, steinig und unfruchtbar, weil der Wassersturz den Humus fortschwemmt' | πληθυνει] Van. πληθύνει; Fritzsche FKE corrects to πληθυνεῖ with several mss. | ακροτομου] lit. 'steep,' but like שן in the Hebr. suggests the 'bareness' of the rock | vs. 15. Lag.

Str. נוצר מחמס לא ינקה כי שורש חנף על שן סלע : נוצר is probably to be corrected, with Str. and Sm., to נצר; Ryssel KAP and Box CAP take חנם to refer to the wicked man, and not to his posterity, but the general idea is the same with either interpretation; for ינקה we may read יגק with Sm. and Ryssel, who refer to the LXX κλαδος for יגק in Hos. xiv, 7.

Sir. xli, 5 ff. τέκνα βδελυκτὰ γίνεται τέκνα ἁμαρτωλῶν, καὶ συναναστρεφόμενα παροικίαις ἀσεβῶν. 6. τέκνων ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀπολεῖται κληρονομία, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν ἐνδελεχιεῖ ὄνειδος. 7. πατρὶ ἀσεβεῖ μέμψεται τέκνα, ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν ὀνειδισθήσονται. "Hateful children are the children of sinners and those that dwell in the houses of the wicked. 6. The inheritance of the children of sinners will be lost, and with their posterity disgrace will abide. 7. An impious father his children reproach, because on his account they will be disgraced."

βδελυκτα] א A C βδελυρα | vs. 5. Lag. ובני חמס יכחידו ובאהל רשעים תאכלנה ובני חמס יכחידו ותשכנה Str. נין נטאם דבר רעים ונבר אויל (בטנור רשע; Sm. suggests for דבר the reading דור or the meaning 'turische Nachkommenschaft' and explains συναναστρ. as perhaps going back to a reading אהלם, and the Syr. ܘܒܢܝ ܚܛܝ as reading ל אוי for אויל | ενδελεχιει] A ενδελεχει | vs. 6. Lag. מבן חמס יכחיד ואהל רשעים תאכלנה. מבן חמס יכחיד ותשכנה Str. ..מבן של מטלת רע, M. מבין של; Sm. 'Man darf aber das sinnlose מטלתרע wohl ändern in ת[ק]ע [מ]טשל. vgl. 1 Sam. 15, 28 ...' | μεμφ.] C μεμψεται | vs. 7. Lag. אב רשע יקוב ילד כימכוללו הוא הרסת עם. אב רשע יקוב ילד כימכוללו הוא הרסת עם Str. ומס מחמיץ מכחיסין

The same idea occurs in Wis. iii, 10–12. οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς καθ' ἃ ἐλογίσαντο ἔξουσι ἐπιτιμίαν, οἱ ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἀποστάντες. 11. σοφίαν γὰρ καὶ παιδείαν ὁ ἐξουθενῶν ταλαίπωρος, καὶ κενὴ ἡ ἐλπὶς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ κόποι ἀνόνητοι καὶ ἄχρηστα τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. 12. αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ἄφρονες καὶ πονηρὰ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν. ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γένεσις αὐτῶν. "But the impious in accordance with their ⟨evil⟩ thoughts will suffer punishment, because they cared nothing for righteousness and turned away from the Lord. 11. For he who despises wisdom and instruction is wretched, and vain is the hope of such men and their efforts are senseless, and futile are their works. 12. Their wives are foolish, and wicked are their children. Accursed is their progeny."

καθ' α] Van. with other mss. καθα; Grimm FKE corrects to καθ' α | επιτιμ.] 248 ατιμιαν | σοφ. κ. παιδ.] For the combination Grimm compares several passages in Prov. 'σοφίαν von der Einsicht in des Menschen Bestimmung ... παιδείαν von der dieser Einsicht angemessenen sittlichen Bildung zu verstehen.' | γενεσις] Grimm 'hier–progenies'; Siegfried KAP 'Gezücht'; Holmes CAP takes it as a verbal noun, 'begetting.'

In Wis. i, 8–16. and iv, 16–19. the author declares that death and destruction are the inevitable punishment for sin and that God will utterly efface the memory of the wicked.

The torments of fire and ice that wait for sinners on the day of judgment are described in several passages in the Testaments, Test. Asher vi, 4–6., Test. Levi, iii, 1–2., Test. Zeb. x, 1–3.

Test. Zeb. x, 3. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐπάξει κύριος πῦρ αἰώνιον, καὶ ἀπολέσει αὐτοὺς ἕως γενεὰς γενεῶν. "Upon the impious the Lord will send eternal fire, and will destroy them for all generations."

απολεσει] Charles απολει | γεν. γενεων] Sinker omits γενεας.

c) *'Poetic Justice'*

Very interesting in some of the apocryphal books is the idea of what we may call 'poetic justice,' that is, the infliction upon the wicked of punishment similar to the evil they have planned to do others. In rabbinical law the principle of 'an eye for an eye' had been generally given up (cf. Fink. on Jub. iv, 31.), but in the haggadah God is often represented as punishing sinners in the same way as they had harmed, or planned to harm, others. Cf. Kohler, JE vol. xii p. 539. "The fundamental principle of the ancient Haggadah is that God metes out the perfect justice expressed by the Rabbis in the phrase 'middah beneged middah' ... this was applied to the Egyptians with reference to Ex. xviii, 11. (See Targum ad loc., Sotah 11 b)." Cf. MJ vol. ii p. 249 ff. We find parallels to some of these haggadic passages in the apocryphal books, and other forms of the same idea.

The conception of such a correspondence in divine punishment to the sin committed is didactically stated in Test. Gad v, 9–11. Ἐπήγαγε γάρ μοι ὁ θεὸς νόσον ἥπατος, καὶ εἰ μὴ αἱ εὐχαὶ

Ἰακὼβ τοῦ πατρός μου, ὀλιγου διεῤῥάνησεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πνεῦμά μου. 10. Δι' ὧν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος παρανομεῖ, δι' ἐκείνων καὶ κολάζεται. 11. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐνέκειτο τὰ ἥπατά μου ἀνιλεῶς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, τῷ ἥπατι πάσχων ἀνιλεῶς, ἐκρινόμην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕνδεκα, καθ' ὅσον χρόνον ἐνεῖχον τῷ Ἰωσὴφ ἕως ἵνα πραθῇ. "For God brought upon me a disease of the liver, and if it had not been for the prayers of Jacob, my father, my life would almost have been lost. 10. Because by the same means as a man transgresses is he also punished. 11. And since my liver was unmercifully set against Joseph, so I suffered unmercifully from my ⟨disease of the⟩ liver and I was judged for eleven months, the same length of time as I was set against Joseph, until he was sold." Cf. Test. Asher vi, 1–6.

ευχαι κτλ.] Charles αι ευχαι τ. πατρος μου εβοηθησαν | ολιγου] Charles adds δειν | και κολαζ.] Charles omits και | ενεκειτο] Charles εκειτο | ηπατα] the liver as the seat of emotions | μηνας ενδ.] Charles χρονους δεκα CT 'eleven months' | οσον χρονον] Charles καθ ων χρονων | εως ινα πρ.] Charles omits.

In 2 Mac. ix, 5 ff., a passage not parallelled in 1 Mac., another instance of this retributive correspondence is described in the account of the death of Antiochus, and there is a form of rhetorical balance in some of the verses, which reinforces the idea. ὁ δὲ πανεπόπτης κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἀνιάτῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ πληγῇ. ἄρτι δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλήξαντος τὸν λόγον, ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀνήκεστος τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀλγηδὼν καὶ πικραὶ τῶν ἔνδον βάσανοι. 6. πάνυ δικαίως, τὸν πολλαῖς καὶ ξενισούσαις συμφοραῖς ἑτέρων σπλάγχνα βασανίσαντα. "But the allseeing Lord, God of Israel, smote him with an incurable and invisible affliction. For hardly had he finished his speech when an irremediable sickness of the bowels seized him, and terrible was the torture of his inner organs. 6. Very just ⟨it was⟩ for one who with many unheard of cruelties had tortured the bowels of others."

The author sees the same principle exemplified in the death of the high priest Menelaus, who was smothered in hot ashes by order of Antiochus. 2 Mac. xiii, 7–8... πάνυ δικαίως. 8. ἐπεὶ γὰρ συνετελέσατο πολλὰ περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἁμαρτήματα, οὗ τὸ

πῦρ ἁγνὸν ἦν καὶ ὁ σποδός, ἐν σποδῷ τὸν θάνατον ἐκομίσατο. "... very justly. 8. For since he had committed many sins against the altar, of which the fire and the ashes were sacred, in ashes he met death."

περι τ. βωμ.] V and two other mss. επι; περι is here to be taken in the sense of 'against,' which is less awkward in English than 'in respect of' or 'upon'; Kamphausen KAP 'in Betreff'; Moffatt CAP 'against.'

Similarly, the author of Wisdom, using the same words as in Test. Gad (v. supra p. 27), explicitly states the principle in connection with the punishment inflicted on the Egyptians. Wis. xi, 15–17. ἀντὶ δὲ λογισμῶν ἀσυνέτων ἀδικίας αὐτῶν, ἐν οἷς πλανηθέντες ἐθρήσκευον ἄλογα ἑρπετὰ καὶ κνώδαλα εὐτελῆ, ἐπαπέστειλας αὐτοῖς πλῆθος ἀλόγων ζώων εἰς ἐκδίκησιν, 17. ἵνα γνῶσιν ὅτι δι' ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων καὶ κολάζεται. "In retribution for the senseless imaginings of their unrighteousness, in the blindness of which they worshipped unreasoning reptiles and vile beasts, thou didst send upon them a host of unreasoning creatures as punishment, 17. in order that they might know that by the same things in which a man sins he is also punished." Cf. vs. 6. on the turning of the Nile into blood because of the drowning there of Hebrew infants.

και κολ.] Van. omits και which I insert with א.

Philo, who applies the same kind of reasoning, explains the selection of the Nile as the first thing in Egypt to be affected by the plagues, as a punishment for the idolatrous worship of the river by the Egyptians. De Vita Mosis lib. i § 98 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαφερόντως ἐκτετιμήκασιν, ἀρχὴν τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζοντες, αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἠξίωσε καλέσαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀποδεχομένων ἐπίπληξίν τε καὶ νουθεσίαν. The use of ἀρχήν and πρῶτον in the two halves of the sentence brings out the element of 'poetic justice' more clearly.

The haggadah, as we should expect, finds appropriate reasons for all the plagues which came upon Egypt. Cf. M. Tan. Shemot 22 a. כל מה שחשבו המצרים על ישראל הקב"ה הביא עליהם וגו'. "All the things that the Egyptians had devised against Israel, the Holy One brought upon them."

6. Chastisement

That God chastises those whom he loves in order to correct them is a familiar idea in the Old Testament. In the language of Deut. viii, 5. באשר ייסר איש את בנו יהוה אלהיך מיסרך. "As a man chastises his son, Jahweh your God chastises you." And in the words of Prov. iii, 12. את אשר יאהב יהוה יוכיח "whom God loves, he chastises." Chastisement, מוסר or תוכחת, παιδεία, as it is called in the Old Testament, is a common subject of discussion in the haggadah, where it is usually called יסורין and often, in recognition of God's purpose in inflicting it, יסורין של אהבה, 'chastisements of love.' Cf. Berakot 5 a on Prov. iii, 12. and Sifre 73 b on Deut. viii, 5. From the latter passage, in which the opinions of various rabbis are given, we may quote, רבי שמעון בן יוחי אומר חביבים יסורין ששלש מתנות נתן הקב"ה להם לישראל שאומות העולם מתאוים להן ולא נתנו לישראל אלא על ידי יסורים ואלו הם תורה וארץ ישראל והעולם הבא. "Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai says, Precious are chastisements, because the three gifts which the Holy One made to Israel, and which the heathen nations desired, were made to Israel only by means of chastisements, and these ⟨gifts⟩ are Torah, the land of Israel and the future life." For other references cf. Bial. vol. iii lib. iv p. 12., ART p. 52 ff., MJ vol. ii p. 252 ff.; Bousset, RJ p. 442, presents a peculiar point of view.

The difference between the nature of the misfortunes which come upon the Jews and those which come upon the Gentiles is carefully explained by the author of 2 Maccabees, vi, 12–16. παρακαλῶ οὖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ μὴ συστέλλεσθαι διὰ τὰς συμφοράς, λογίζεσθαι δὲ τὰς τιμωρίας μὴ πρὸς ὄλεθρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παιδείαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἶναι. 13. καὶ τὸ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἐᾶσθαι τοὺς δυσσεβοῦντας, ἀλλ' εὐθέως περιπίπτειν ἐπιτιμίοις, μεγάλης εὐεργεσίας σημεῖόν ἐστιν. 14. οὐ γὰρ καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἀναμένει μακροθυμῶν ὁ δεσπότης μέχρι τοῦ καταντήσαντας αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν κολάσαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔκρινεν εἶναι, 15. ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τέλος ἀφικομένων ἡμῶν τῶν ἁρματιῶν ὕστερον ἡμᾶς ἐκδικᾷ. 16. διόπερ οὐδέποτε μὲν τὸν ἔλεον

αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀφίστησι. παιδεύων δὲ μετὰ συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαόν. "Now I urge those who read this book not to be depressed by ⟨the account⟩ of these misfortunes, but to realize that these punishments were intended, not for the destruction, but for the chastisement of our nation. 13. And the fact that transgressors are not allowed ⟨to continue in their ways⟩, but are immediately visited with retribution, is a sign of ⟨God's⟩ great goodness. 14. For tho the Lord, in the case of other nations, is long-suffering and patient, and punishes them ⟨only⟩ after they have filled the measure of their sins, he has not determined ⟨to deal⟩ in the same way with us, 15. and not to take vengeance upon us after our sins have reached the limit. 16. And so he never removes his mercy from us, and tho he chastises them by means of misfortunes, he does not abandon his own people."

In 2 Mac. vii, 31 ff. one of the seven heroic sons of the Jewish mother contrasts his present torment with the retribution which will overtake the Syrians. σὺ δὲ πάσης κακίας εὑρέτης γενόμενος εἰς τοὺς Ἑβραίους οὐ μὴ διαφυγῇς τὰς χειρὰς τοῦ θεοῦ. 32. ἡμεῖς γὰρ διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτίας πάσχομεν. 33. εἰ δὲ χάριν ἐπιπλήξεως καὶ παιδείας ὁ ζῶν κύριος ἡμῶν βραχέως ἐπώργισται, καὶ πάλιν καταλλαγήσεται τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις. "But you, who have devised all kinds of wickedness against the Hebrews, will not escape the hands of God. 32. We, because of our sin, are suffering ⟨now⟩. 33. And even if, for our punishment and chastisement, our living Lord for a little time is angry with us, yet will he again be reconciled with his servants." Cf. 2 Mac. x, 4.

εποργ.] V παροργισται; εποργ. is used in 1 Mac. i, 64.

In Wis. xi, 9–11. the merciful chastisement of the Jews is rhetorically contrasted with the merciless punishment of the Egyptians ... δείξας διὰ τοῦ πότε δίψους πῶς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἐκόλασας. 10. ὅτε γὰρ ἐπειράσθησαν, καί περ ἐν ἐλέει παιδευόμενοι, ἔγνωσαν πῶς ἐν ὀργῇ κρινόμενοι ἀσεβεῖς ἐβασανίζοντο. 11. τούτους μὲν γὰρ ὡς πατὴρ νουθετῶν ἐδοκίμασας, ἐκείνους δὲ ὡς ἀπότομος βασιλεὺς καταδικάζων ἐξήτασας. "... showing them by ⟨causing⟩ their thirst (in the wilderness)

how ⟨much more severely⟩ thou didst punish their adversaries. 19. For when they were tried, altho mercifully chastised, they realized how ⟨much more⟩ the impious, condemned by thine anger, were tormented. 11. For these (the Israelites) thou didst admonish like a father and correct, but those ⟨others⟩, like a severe king thou didst condemn and punish." Cf. Wis. xii, 22., xvi, 4–6. and Bar. iv, 25.

καταδικ. εξητ.] Lag. ܐܬܝܡ ܐܟܝܠ, making εξητ. stronger.

The nature of divine chastisement is described in more appealing form in Wis. xi, 27–xii, 2. Φείδῃ δὲ πάντων, ὅτι σά ἐστι δέσποτα φιλόψυχε. xii, 1. τὸ γὰρ ἄφθαρτόν σου πνεῦμα ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσι. Διὸ τοὺς παραπίπτοντας κατ' ὀλίγον ἐλέγχεις καὶ ἐν οἷς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ὑπομιμνήσκων νουθετεῖς, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγέντες τῆς κακίας πιστεύωσιν ἐπὶ σὲ κύριε. "Thou art forbearing with all, for they are thine own, oh Lord who lovest life. xii, 1. For thine incorruptible spirit is in all. Wherefore those who transgress, thou chastisest gently, and reminding them how they sin, thou admonishest them in order that they may leave off doing evil and trust in thee."

φιλοψυχε] v. supra ad. I. p. 6 | αφθαρτον] Lag. ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠ; similarly other versions; Grimm FKE reads αφθ., also Siegfried KAP and Holmes CAP | κατ ολιγον] Grimm '...allmählich = κατα βραχυ': Siegfried 'mit Milde'; Holmes 'by little and little' | πιστευωσιν επι σε] Grimm 'was ... die Heiligung des Lebens als Folge des Glaubens in sich schliesst.'

The hope of the exiled Jews, who wait for God's chastisement to give way to his love, is several times expressed in Tobit; cf. xiii, 5., καὶ μαστιγώσει ἡμᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἐλεήσει καὶ συνάξει ἡμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν οὗ ἐὰν σκορπισθῶμεν ἐν αὐτοῖς. "And he will afflict us in our unrighteousness, and again he will be merciful to us and gather us together from all the nations among whom we may be scattered."

There is no corresponding Aramaic | ημας 1°] ℵ υμας Lag. = ημας | ημων] ℵ υμων Lag. = ημων | και συναξει] ℵ omits, Lag. ܘܢܟܢܫ ܘܢܪܚܡ | ημας 2°] ℵ υμας Lag. = ημας | σκορπισθωμεν] Van. σκορπισθητε ℵ διασκορπισθητε Lag. ܢܬܦܙܪ. Four mss. have σκορπισθωμεν (Fritzsche FKE 'unnöthige Correctur').

7. Repentance

The early regulations concerning the bringing of sacrifice to atone for 'sin'—in most cases a violation of ritual law—were maintained thru post-exilic and Hellenistic times until the destruction of the temple. But in prophetic teaching another idea had come into the Jewish religion, not to take the place of the ritual atonement, but to parallel it on an ethical plane; for those who were guilty of moral transgression, repentance was the only means of obtaining pardon from God. Cf. Hosea xii, 7., xiv, 2–4., Micha vii, 19., Joel ii, 12 -14, Isa. lv, 7.—a few of many passages illustrating the prophetic doctrine. נחם, μετανοεῖν, expresses the idea of 'being sorry for'; שוב, ἐπιστρέφειν, is 'returning,' that is, to God and away from evil; μετανοεῖν and ἐπιστρέφειν were probably used by Hellenistic authors in the same sense as the rabbinic שוב 'to repent,' which, as we commonly use it, includes contrition, confession of wrongdoing and amendment.

Repentance is, perhaps, the theological subject most discussed by the rabbis, who at various times represent God as having created repentance before creating the world, which otherwise might not endure. In one of the baraitas quoted in Pesahim 54a תשובה is next in order after תורה in the list of ten things created before the world was made. For rabbinic passages v. ART ch. xviii, KNT pp. 162–172, Bial. vol. ii p. 227, MJ vol. i p. 520 ff.

The exhortation to sinners to repent is, in the apocryphal literature, most frequently found in the same three books, Sirach, Wisdom and the Testaments, in which the idea of retribution is most prominent. The Prayer of Manasses is of course essentially a sermon on repentance. For pseudepigraphic references v. RJ pp. 446–448.

We may first notice a passage in Tobit in which Tobit calls upon his fellow-exiles to repent, and encourages them, somewhat doubtfully, it is true, in their hope of being restored to God's favor. Tob. xiii, 6. ἐγὼ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας μου ἐξομολογοῦμαι αὐτῷ καὶ δεικνύω τὴν ἰσχυν καὶ τὴν μεγαλοσύνην αὐτοῦ ἔθνει ἁμαρτωλῶν. ἐπιστρέψατε ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ποιήσατε

δικαιοσύνην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. τίς γινώσκει εἰ θελήσει ὑμᾶς καὶ ποιήσει ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῖν; "I, in the land of my captivity, give thanks to him and proclaim his might and greatness to a nation of sinners. Repent, oh sinners, and act righteously before him. Who knows but he may accept you and show mercy to you?"

There is no Aramaic; ℵ omits the verse | εθνει αμαρτωλων] Three mss. have εθνει αμαρτωλω, eleven mss. εθνη αμαρτωλων, two mss. εθνη αμαρτωλων επιστρεψατε Lag. ܠܥܡܐ ܚܛܝܐ; Fritzsche FKE 'indessen ist es durch den Zusammenhang doch wohl gegeben, darunter die Israeliten zu verstehen, die in der Fremde in den Götzendienst gefallen waren.'

In Man. vs. 7 sinners are even more strongly encouraged to hope for forgiveness. σὺ κύριε κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστότητός σου ἐπηγγείλω μετάνοιαν καὶ ἄφεσιν τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν σοι, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου ὥρισας μετάνοιαν ἁμαρτωλοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν. "Thou, oh Lord, in accordance with the abundance of thy kindness didst proclaim repentance and forgiveness to those who have sinned against thee, and in the abundance of thy compassion thou hast appointed repentance for sinners to be saved."

σωτηριαν] In the sense of 'security from punishment.'

The author of Sirach, however, urges people not to rely too greatly on God's abundance of kindness, but to repent before retribution overtakes them. We are reminded by Sir. v, 6–7. of the explanation given in Shabbat 153a of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanos' injunction to repent one day before death, כל שכן ישוב היום שמא ימות למחר "all the more should one repent today, for one may die tomorrow." καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς, ὁ οἰκτιρμὸς αὐτοῦ πολύς, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου ἐξιλάσεται, ἔλεος γὰρ καὶ ὀργὴ παρ' αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καταπαύσει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ 7. μὴ ἀνάμενε ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς κύριον, καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλου ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας, ἐξάπινα γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ὀργὴ κυρίου. "And do not say, His compassion is great and he will forgive the multitude of my sins. Mercy and anger are with him, and upon sinners his indignation will rest. 7. Do not put off returning to the Lord, and do not delay from day to day. For suddenly will come the anger of the Lord." Cf. Sir. xviii, 21.

παρ αυτω] Van. א A C παρ αυτου several mss. have παρ αυτω three mss. have παρ αυτω ταχυνει Lag. ܒܨܒ Str. רחמים ואף עמו | προς κυριον] א and others επι.

Sir. xvii, 23 ff. urges repentance with equal insistence but with more persuasiveness. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξαναστήσεται καὶ ἀνταποδώσει αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ ἀνταπόδομα αὐτῶν εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν ἀποδώσει. 24. πλὴν μετανοοῦσιν ἔδωκεν ἐπάνοδον καὶ παρεκάλεσεν ἐκλείποντας ὑπομονήν. 25. ἐπίστρεφε ἐπὶ κύριον καὶ ἀπόλειπε ἁμαρτίας ... "After this he will rise ⟨against them⟩ and requite them and will bring this requital upon their own heads. 24. But to those who repent he gives ⟨an opportunity⟩ to return, and encourages those who have given up hope. 25. Return to the Lord and give up sin."

There is no Hebrew | εξαναστη.] Lag. לא קם | επανοδον] Lag. ܐܬܦܢܝܐ (the Syr. in this verse contrasts the favor shown to the repentant with the destruction of the wicked, ܘܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܬܦܢܝܐ ܠܗ ܠܚܛܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܡܚܘܝ ܠܗ ܠܥܘܠܐ); Fritzsche FKE 'Rückkehr, Umkehr vom Bösen zum Guten' | υπομονην] Sm. conj. תקוה; Fritzsche 'Zuversicht auf Gott.'

Wis. xi, 24. (Sw. xi, 23.) ἐλεεῖς δὲ πάντας, ὅτι πάντα δύνασαι, καὶ παροράς ἁμαρτήματα ἀνθρώπων εἰς μετάνοιαν. "But thou art merciful to all men because thou hast power over all things, and thou overlookest the sins of men in order that they may repent." Cf. Wis. xii, 19.; Wis. xi, 9–11 has already been quoted; v. supra p. 30.

Test. Dan. v, 9. καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστρέψαντες πρὸς κύριον ἐλεηθήσεσθε, καὶ ἄξει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ ἁγίασμα αὐτοῦ καὶ δώσει ὑμῖν εἰρήνην. "And if you return to the Lord in this way, you will obtain mercy, and he will bring you into his sanctuary." Cf. Test. Dan. vi, 1–7., Test. Zeb. ix, 7.

κ. δωσ. υμ. ειρη.] Sinker βοων υμιν ειρηνην.

Perhaps the finest passage on repentance is Test. Gad v, 7–8. ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια ἀναιρεῖ τὴν ἀπείθειαν καὶ φυγαδεύει τὸ σκότος καὶ φωτίζει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ γνῶσιν παρέχει τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον πρὸς σωτηρίαν. 8. καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἔμαθεν ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων οἶδε διὰ τῆς μετανοίας. "For true repentance before God destroys unbelief and routs the

darkness and illumines the eyes and brings knowledge to the soul and guides the will to salvation. 8. For what it (the soul) has not learned from men, it knows thru repentance." Cf. Test. Reub. i, 9—10., Test. Jud. xxiii, 5.

κατα θεον] Schnapp KAP 'Gottgemäss'; CT 'of a godly sort'; I take it to mean 'repentance that is true repentance in God's eyes' | αναιρει κτλ.] Charles prints αναιρει την αγνοιαν in brackets; A omits | φυγ.] Charles φυγαδει | κ. α ουκ εμαθεν κτλ.] Charles και ουκ εμαθεν τουτ αλλ οιδε.

8. Israel and the Nations

Into the attitude of Old Testament writers toward the heathen nations at least two elements enter. There is first the nationalistic spirit of distrust or aggression, according to the changing fortunes of war, which is marked in the historical books and in the account of the reforms of Ezra, and the second is the prophetic abhorrence of idolatry, which is so prominent a part of the Deuteronomic teaching and of the oracles of the later prophets.

In the Hellenistic age, when the national existence of the Jews was endangered by foreign aggression and when many of their own number who had learned something of the philosophy of the Greeks were giving up their fathers' religion for the culture of the heathen, we find, very naturally, that the spirit of hostility to non-Jews is even stronger at times, and the national consciousness even more intense. The universalism of the apocalypses was a transformation of this feeling into a confident hope that the ideals and practices of Israel would be accepted by those peoples who, in the temporary period of national misfortune, were so hostile to them. There were not, of course, wanting even in the Old Testament age generous spirits who could look with more charitableness upon the heathen, and realize that they too were God's children. Cf. Isa. xix, 25., Zeph. iii, 9—10., as if in allusion to a thought implied in the description of Israel as God's 'first-born son' in Ex. iv, 22.; cf. Sir. xxxi, 11. (Sw. xxxvi, 17.) Ἰσραὴλ ὃν πρωτογόνῳ ὡμοίωσας. The more liberal attitude is taken by many of the rabbis. Schechter remarks, ART p. 62 ff., " It must however be noted that the doctrine of election ... was not quite

of so exclusive a nature as is commonly imagined. For it is only the privilege of the first-born which the Rabbis claim for Israel, that they are the first in God's kingdom, not the exclusion of other nations." The exuberant glorification of Israel in many rabbinic passages (where, it is important to note, there is no corresponding detraction of the Gentiles) is discussed by Marmorstein, p. 127., as the last step in a continuous development of a theological explanation of the problem, why was the world created? The four other answers to the question, in the chronological order assumed by Marmorstein, were that it was for God's glory, for man's sake, for the sake of the righteous, and for the sake of the Torah. The last answer was, " for Israel's sake." " The Agadists did not proclaim this idea before the Church tried to deprive the Synagogue of her spiritual rights and privileges." For rabbinic passages on the subject of Israel and the nations, v. ART chs. iii, iv, Bial. vol. ii pp. 3–24.

In citing from the apocryphal material on the subject we may include with the passages bearing on Israel's relations with the nations, those which deal with God's relations with Israel as the object of his particular care.

Aris. § 20 explains the zeal of the Egyptian king in liberating the Jewish captives with such generosity, as the work of God. μεγαλείως χρησάμενος τῇ προθυμίᾳ, τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιτελέσαντος ἡμῶν προαίρεσιν καὶ συναναγκάσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπολυτρῶσαι μὴ μόνον τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ πατρός... " He showed great willingness, for God caused our plan to succeed and joined in persuading him to release not only those who had come with the army of his father..." On Aris. § 139, v. infra p. 53.

συναναγκασαντος] The συν. is, I think, to be understood as meaning that God helped Aristeas and his friends in persuading the king.

In those apocryphal books which were written to encourage the Jews in their struggle against foreign oppression, in the books of the Maccabees and Judith, and in a polemic against idolatry like the second part of Wisdom, we are not surprised by the force and bitterness of their denunciation of the heathen; but in a book

like Sirach which runs along evenly for the most part as a series of lectures on practical morality and religious philosophy, we are a little surprised by the change of tone in the passages dealing with the subject of Gentiles.

Sir. ch. xxxii discusses almsgiving, God's justice and the punishment of the wicked oppressors of the poor. Vs. 23 and 25 are perhaps a sort of parenthetical idea suggested by the context. καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀνταποδώσει ἐκδίκησιν ... 25. ἕως κρινῇ τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐφραίνει αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ. "And the nations he will requite with punishment ... 25. Until he defends the cause of his people and causes them to rejoice in his salvation."

εθνεσιν] Lag. ܠܥܡܡܐ Str. ולגוים, note 'legas ולגאים (vel. ולגים Pe.)'; so Sm., 'לגוים ist alter Fehler oder vielleicht nur orthographische Variante für ולגאים'; Ryssel KAP and Box CAP translate accordingly; in any case, the heathen are referred to, as the context shows; cf. Ryssel ad. I. | ελεει] Lag. ܒܪܚܡܘܗܝ (probably a scribal error for ܒܦܘܪܩܢܗ) Str. וישעו; ελεος in LXX sometimes translates ישועה; cf. Sir. xxxiii, 1. in seq.

Sir. xxxiii, 1–4. ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς δέσποτα ὁ θεὸς πάντων. 2. [καὶ ἐπίβλεψον] καὶ ἐπίβαλε τὸν φόβον σου ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. 3. ἔπαρον τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπὶ ἔθνη ἀλλότρια, καὶ ἰδέτωσαν τὴν δυναστείαν σου. 4. ὥσπερ ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ἡγιάσθης ἐν ἡμῖν, οὕτως ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν μεγαλυνθείης ἐν αὐτοῖς. "Deliver us, oh Lord, God of the universe, 2. and put the fear of thee upon all the nations. 3. Raise up thy hand against the foreign nations, and let them see thy power. 4. As in their sight thou wast sanctified among us, so in our sight mayest thou have glory among them."

ελεησον] Str. הושענו; v. supra on Sir. xxxii, 25 | και επιβλεψον] Sm. 'wohl nur Dittographie von και επιβαλε' | χειρα] Str. omits, margin has יד | εθνη] 248 Compl. add τα μη εκζητουντα σε | μεγαλυνθειης] Lag. ܐܬܩܕܫ (probably dittography of ܐܬܡܓܕ in first half of verse).

The fearful punishment that God will inflict upon those who oppress Israel is frequently spoken of in the more intensely nationalistic books like Judith and 2 and 3 Maccabees.

Jud. xvi, 17. οὐαὶ ἔθνεσιν ἐπανισταμένοις τῷ γένει μου. Κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἐκδικήσει αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως,

δοῦναι πῦρ καὶ σκώληκας εἰς σάρκας αὐτῶν, καὶ κλαύσονται ἐν αἰσθήσει ἕως αἰῶνος. "Woe to the nations who oppose my people. The almighty Lord will punish them on the day of judgment, sending fire and worms upon their bodies, and they will weep in pain for eternity."

ουαι εθν. επαν.] 58 ουαι δε εθνη παρανομα | ημ. κρισεως] 52 ημ. θλιψεως Lag. ܝܘܡ ܕܕܝܢܐ.

In 2 Mac. vii, 17 ff. one of the seven martyred youths warns Antiochus of the punishment that awaits him for defying the will of God in torturing God's people. 18. μὴ πλανῶ μάτην, ἡμεῖς γὰρ δι' ἑαυτοὺς ταῦτα πάσχομεν, ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν θεόν, διὸ ἄξια θαυμασμοῦ γέγονε. 19. σὺ δὲ μὴ νομίσῃς ἀθῶος ἔσεσθαι, θεομαχεῖν ἐπιχειρήσας. "Do not make a foolish mistake, for we are suffering for our own sins against our own God, and therefore these terrible things have happened ⟨to us⟩. 19. But do not imagine that you will escape unpunished, who have tried to oppose God."

ημεις] Grimm FKE 'nicht ich und meine Brüder, sondern wir, die Juden' | αμαρτανοντες] A 74 Compl. αμαρτοντες; Grimm rightly observes that the present participle is correct | θεομαχ.] not found elsewhere in LXX; Lag. ܠܡܗܘܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ; in Acts vi, 39. it means 'to be impious.'

In vs. 31 of the same chapter the youngest son warns Antiochus of future punishment for the same reason. σὺ δὲ πάσης κακίας εὑρέτης γενόμενος εἰς τοὺς Ἑβραίους οὐ μὴ διαφυγῇς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ θεοῦ. "But you, who have devised all kinds of wickedness against the Hebrews, will not escape the hands of God."

The hope that God will not abandon his people but will deliver them from the power of their enemies is frequently expressed.

3 Mac. vi, 15.—the prayer of Eleazar, the high priest. δειχθήτω πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν ὅτι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶ κύριε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστρεψας τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καθὼς εἶπας, ὅτι οὐδ' ἐν τῇ γῇ τῶν ἐχθρων αὐτῶν ὄντων ὑπερεῖδες αὐτούς, οὕτως ἐπιτέλεσον κύριε. "Let it be shown to all nations that thou art with us,

oh Lord, and do not turn thy face away from us, but as thou didst say, that even if they were in the land of their enemies thou didst not forget them, so do thou continue to do."

υπερειδες] Five mss. have υπερειδον which, with αυτους, is part of the quotation from the LXX of Lev. xxvi, 44.

Wis. xix, 21.—the last verse of the book. κατὰ πάντα γὰρ κύριε ἐμεγάλυνας τὸν λαόν σου καὶ ἐδόξασας, καὶ οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες, ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ παριστάμενος. "In all things, oh Lord, thou hast magnified and glorified thy people, and didst not forget ⟨them⟩, at all times and in every place standing by them."

εμεγαλ.] 253 εμνημονευσας του λαου σου Lag. ܥܡܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ.

Cf. Sir. xxxi, 10–17., Est. iv, 17 (Sw. x, 5–9.), 3 Mac. ii, 9–13., Wis. xii, 20–22., xvi, 8. 26., xviii, 7–8.

In the Testaments the references to the national restoration have an eschatological character.

Test. Judah xxii, 2–3. καὶ ἐν ἀλλοφύλοις συντελεσθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία μου, ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὸ σωτήριον Ἰσραήλ, ἕως παρουσίας τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἐν εἰρήνῃ [καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη]. "And among foreign ⟨nations⟩ my kingdom will be brought to an end, until the deliverance of Israel comes, until the appearance of the God of righteousness, that Jacob may rest in peace."

εως ... δικαιοσ.] Not found in A | παντα τα εθνη] Charles brackets as an interpolation; Schnapp KAP keeps the phrase.

Other passages of the same nature in the Testaments are Test. Simeon, vi, 3–5., vii, 1–2., Test. Levi iv, 2–6., Test. Judah xxv, 3–5., Test. Dan. v, 10–13., vi, 1–10., Test. Asher vii, 5–7., Test. Benj. ix, 2., x, 11.

The peculiar intimacy of the relation between Israel and God, which is alluded to in Aristeas, is expressed by Philo in a manner which would perhaps have given little offence to any Gentile readers he might have had. De Virtutibus § 79 (M. p. 388.) μόνος γὰρ Μωυσῆς τὴν πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος ὑπολαβὼν ἔχειν ἀναγκαιοτάτην συγγένειαν,

πολὺ γνησιωτέραν τῆς ἀφ' αἵματος ... "For Moses alone, assuming that the whole nation had the most intimate relation with Divinity, as it were, from the beginning, which was much superior to one of blood ..."

9. Conversion of Gentiles

It is a commonplace of Old Testament criticism that with the loss of political independence and the great changes that followed the Babylonian captivity, there developed among the Jews a purer conception of Jahweh as the God of all the nations, rather than God of Israel alone. But in post-exilic prophecy we find very few places where the universalistic conception is applied to the idea of salvation or conversion of the Gentiles. Such passages as Isa. lvi, 6–7., Zeph. iii, 9–10., Zech. viii, 22. are infrequent and are remarkable for their explicitness. It was not of course that the prophets had no hope of the universal acceptance of their religion. Their whole way of thinking obliges us to suppose the contrary. The reason for their general silence on the subject of conversion is probably that they were too much concerned with the problem of teaching their fellow Jews the moral principles of their own religion, to have time to consider the religious destiny of the heathen nations.

It is perhaps for a different reason that the apocryphal books have almost nothing to say on the subject of the conversion of Gentiles. They were written in an age when the two great problems of national survival in the face of military oppression, and the preservation of the ancestral faith in the face of cultural propaganda occupied the minds of the leaders of the people. It could hardly be expected that they would trouble about the matter of conversion except as a sort of reassurance to themselves that they would find a more secure place in a world that accepted their own religious law. The author of Ps. lxxxvi, for example, makes us feel that his seemingly confident statement that the Gentiles will some day worship Jahweh (vs. 9–10.) is rather a wistful hope that they and his wicked adversaries (vs. 14.) will not be allowed to persecute him.

Something of this feeling appears in Tob. xiv, 6–7., particularly in the text of B. One cannot help feeling that here too the author is rather more concerned about the effect which a universal conversion will have upon the well-being of the Jews, (" all who love God will rejoice in sincerity and righteousness, showing mercy to our brothers ") than about the salvation of the heathen nations. Tob. xiii, 11. ἔθνη πολλὰ μάκροθεν ἥξει πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, δῶρα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες [καὶ] δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ ουρανοῦ. γενεαὶ γενεῶν δώσουσί σοι ἀγαλλίαμα. xiv, 6. καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιστρέψουσιν αληθινῶς φοβεῖσθαι κύριον τὸν θεὸν, καὶ κατορύξουσι τὰ εἴδωλα αὐτῶν. 7. καὶ εὐλογήσουσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κύριον, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξομολγήσεται τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ὑψώσει κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ χαρήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀγαπῶντες κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ποιοῦντες ἔλεος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν. " Many nations will come from afar to the name of the Lord God, bearing gifts in their hands, gifts to the king of heaven. Generation after generation will sing thee songs of praise ... xiv, 6. (after the rebuilding of Jerusalem) all the nations will turn to the Lord God and worship him in sincerity, and will bury their idols. 7. And all the nations will bless the Lord, and his people will give thanks to God, and the Lord will exalt his people, and all who love the Lord God will rejoice in sincerity and righteousness, showing mercy to our brothers."

There is no Aramaic or Syriac corresponding to xiii, 11. | εθνη 1°] ℵ prefixes φως λαμπρον λαμψει εις παντα τα περατα της γης | μακροθεν κτλ..] ℵ μακροθεν και κατοικιει (for κατοικοι) παντων των εσχατων της γης προς το ονομα το αγιον σου | δωσουσι σοι αγαλ.] several mss. have αινεσουσι σοι (σε) | αγαλλιαμα] in LXX translates גילה, שמחה, תהלה, 'joy' expressed in song; ℵ adds και ονομα της εκλεκτης εις τας γενεας του αιωνος | There is no Aramaic corresponding to xiv, 6—7. | και παντα τα εθνη] ℵ adds τα εν ολη τη γη παντες | κατορυξουσι] ℵ αφησουσιν παντες τα ειδωλα αυτων τους πλανωντας ψευδη την πλανωσιν αυτων; Lag. agrees with B in 6 a but omits mention of idols, and has an addition not found in Gr., 'do what is pleasing in his sight and command your sons to act with righteousness and truth' | vs. 7] ℵ και ευλογησουσιν τον θεον του αιωνος εν δικαιοσυνη· παντες οι υιοι του Ισραηλ οι σωζομενοι εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις μνημονευοντες του θεου

εν αληθεια επισυναχθησονται και ηξουσιν εις Ιερουσολημ και οικησουσιν τον αιωνα εν τη γη Αβρααμ μετα ασφαλειας και ποιουντες την αμαρτιαν και την αδικιαν εκλειψουσιν απο πασης της γης; Lag. has only ܘܢܗܘܘ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ ; Fritzsche FKE who takes xiii, 6. to refer to the sinful Jews in captivity, and not to the heathen, seems to understand these verses in the same way as xiii, 6.; he does not comment on παντα τ. εθνη; Löhr KAP translating the text of B understands that the heathen are here meant—'Und alle Heiden werden sich bekehren'; Simpson CAP translates the text of ℵ.

There are a number of passages in the Testaments in which the Gentiles are included in the Messianic or directly divine salvation of Israel, tho it is not expressly said that the Gentiles will turn to God. In one of these, Test. Naph. viii, 3. "the righteous among the nations" alone are mentioned, but in the others "all the nations" are joined with Israel. Charles, CT note p. 211, distinguishes between Jewish and Christian passages on the basis of the order of the two classes of men to be saved. "On the other hand when we find such an expression as 'saving all the Gentiles and Israel,' T. Jos. xix, 11, we may regard the text as corrupt or interpolated." However that may be, there are enough instances in which Jews and Gentiles are mentioned in this order to show that, as we might expect in an eschatological work, the messianic age is conceived of as a time when all men will recognize that the God of the Jews is the true God. The various passages bearing on the salvation of the Gentiles are given in CT l. c. We may quote one passage.

Test. Asher vii, 3. Ἕως οὗ ὁ ὕψιστος ἐπισκέψηται τὴν γὴν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθῶν [ὡς ἄνθρωπος μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων] καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ συντρίβων τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δράκοντος [δι' ὕδατος], οὕτως σώσει τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. "Until the Most High visits the earth and coming himself and with ease crushing the head of the serpent, in this way will save Israel and all the nations." Cf. Test. Benj. ix, 2., x, 4–5.

επισκεψ.] In LXX for פקד | ως ανθρ. .. πινων] a Christian addition, as Charles recognizes | εν ησυχια] Charles omits | δι υδατος] Charles επι του υδατος CT 'δια may be due to Christian influence' | ουτως] Sinker, Charles ουτος; but ουτος is a little strange if the subject of σωσει is the same as ο υψιστος; beside which there is no finite verb after και ουτος ελθων κτλ. and the sentence is awkward.

II. LAW AND COMMANDMENTS

1. Torah

The translation of the word תורה by the words νόμος or 'law' is, as earlier commentators have recognized, hardly adequate. Torah is the will of God as it is revealed in scripture; the word may be used of either prophetic or priestly teaching, or of moral precepts like those attributed to Solomon. In the later Old Testament literature Torah is identified with חכמה, σοφία, 'wisdom,' which is sometimes personified, as in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. It is interesting to note that in other parts of the Old Testament the word חכמה is used in connection with the law or books of law. In Deut. iv, 5–6. Moses exhorts the Israelites to observe the commandments which God has given them thru him. ושמרתם ועשיתם כי היא חכמתכם ובינתכם לעיני העמים. 6. And in Ezra vii, 25. —Artaxerxes' letter to Ezra, the written law seems to be meant. ואנת עזרא כחכמת אלהך די בידך. But only in the so-called Wisdom literature, in some of the Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach and Wisdom, is Torah personified as the divine wisdom, a preexistent spirit, whose philosophical relation to God is not clearly defined. This wisdom is not, however, thought of as an active participant in the work of creation, as is the θεῖος λόγος of Philo, or as in the first paragraph of Bereshit Rabba, where, among the explanations of the word אמון in Prov. viii, 30., a reading אומן, 'architect' is suggested. In this same section Torah is counted as the first of the six things which were created or existed as ideas before the creation of the world. It was for the sake of the Torah that the world was created, according to some rabbis (v. supra p. 32). Torah came to mean more than merely the sum of all the commandments. Schechter remarks, ART p. 117., that "Torah and Mitzvot are a complement to each other, as a Rabbi

expressed it, ' they borrow from each other, as wisdom and understanding.' " In discussions about the relative value of מעשה, the performance of commandments, and תלמוד תורה, the study of the law, the opinion of the majority favors the latter. Another kind of distinction is made in Sotah 21 a, דרש ר' מנחם בר יוסי כי נר מצוה והתורה אור תלה הכתוב את המצוה בנר לומר לך מה נר אינה מנינה אלא לפי שעה אף מצוה אינה מנינה אלא לפי שעה ואת התורה באור לומר לך מה אור מנין לעולם אף תורה מנינה לעולם ... דבר אחר עבירה מבבה מצוה ואין עבירה מבבה תורה שנאמר מים רבים לא יוכלו לכבות את האהבה. " Rabbi Menahem bar Yose interpreted the verse (Prov. vi, 23.), ' For a commandment is a lamp, the Torah is a light ' (LXX has ὅτι λύχνος ἐντολὴ νόμου καὶ φῶς) as follows. The scripture compares a commandment with a lamp, and the Torah with ⟨natural⟩ light, to show us that as a lamp helps us only for the moment, so ⟨merit acquired by fulfilling⟩ a commandment helps us only for the moment, and the Torah is compared with ⟨natural⟩ light, to show us that as ⟨natural⟩ light helps us for ever, so ⟨merit acquired by studying⟩ Torah helps us for ever ... Another explanation is, a transgression takes away ⟨the merit acquired by fulfilling⟩ a commandment, but a transgression does not take away ⟨the merit acquired by studying⟩ Torah, for it is said, (Song of Songs ix, 7.), ' Many waters cannot extinguish love.' "

Perhaps no significance is to be attached to the fact that the tables of the law are said, in Abot v, 9., to have been created on the eve of the first sabbath with nine other things, whereas in Bereshit Rabba Par. i. (v. supra) the Torah is mentioned as one of the six things created before the world was made. But how far the rabbis went in personifying and exalting the Torah may be seen by examining the passages quoted by Schechter, ART chs. viii, ix. Cf. Bial. vol. ii lib. iii pp. 67–140.

In the apocrypha wisdom, which is ' reverence of God,' is glorified as the first of created things and, of course, as existing for eternity to come. The apocryphal passages are reminiscent of Proverbs, particularly ch. viii, and the Wisdom Psalms.

Sir. i, 1 ff. πᾶσα σοφία παρὰ κυρίου, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ... 4. προτέρα πάντων ἔκτισται σοφία, καὶ σύνεσις φρονήσεως ἐξ αἰῶνος ... 14. ἀρχὴ σοφίας φοβεῖσθαι

τὸν κύριον... 16. πλησμονὴ σοφίας φοβεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον... 18. στέφανος σοφίας φόβος κυρίου... 20. ῥίζα σοφίας φοβεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον... 26. ἐπεθύμησας σοφίαν, διατήρησον ἐντολάς, καὶ κύριος χορηγήσει σοι αὐτήν. 27. σοφία γὰρ καὶ παιδεία φόβος κυρίου ... "All wisdom is from the Lord and is with him forever... 4. Before all ⟨other⟩ things wisdom was created, and prudent understanding in the beginning, (the identification of wisdom with 'reverence of the Lord,' that is, 'religion' is made emphatic by repetition). 14. The beginning of wisdom is reverencing the Lord... 17. The fullness of wisdom is reverencing the Lord... 18. The crown of wisdom is reverence of the Lord... 20. The root of wisdom is reverencing the Lord... 26. If you desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord will give it to you. 27. For wisdom and instruction are reverence of the Lord." Cf. Sir. xix, 20–22.

There is no Hebrew for these verses | εις τον αιωνα] Lag. ܥܕ ܥܠܡܐ | προτερα παντ. κτλ.] Lag. ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܣܟܠܬܢܘܬ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ; Sm. 'so scheint Syr. im Vortheil zu sein'; with Sm.'s view I cannot agree; cf. Prov. viii, 22. | εξ αιωνος] Fritzsche FKE '= απο του αιωνος. Die Vagheit der Begriffsbestimmung liegt in der Sache. Sprichw. 8. 23 übersetzt LXX προ του αιωνος'; Ryssel KAP 'seit Ewigkeit'; Oesterley CAP 'from everlasting' | vs. 4] several mss. add πηγη σοφιας λογος θεου εν υψιστοις και αι πορειαι αυτης εντολαι αιωνιαι; Hart p. 285 considers this addition part of a Pharisaic recension, 'the scribe propounds an Halacha, a way in which a man must walk.' The term 'Halacha' is somewhat strange; if the thought of the addition is Pharisaic, then so is the rest of the book. But Hart is not alone in thinking the addition differs from the context in character; Fritzsche '... den Gedankengang widrig stört,' Sm. 'gewiss sekundär' | on the equivalence of σοφια and φοβος κυριου cf. Fritzsche, 'φοβος κυριου = Frömmigkeit und Gesetzeserfüllung, ποίησις νόμου' | αρχη] Lag. ; Sm. 'ihr Wesen, ihr Bestes'; Ryssel 'Der Anfang'; Oesterley 'the starting point as well as the essence'—in his translation he gives 'beginning.' I prefer 'beginning' in view of the culminating πλησμονή in vs. 16.; cf. Prov. i, 7. ראשית, ix, 10. תחלה | Lag. omits vs. 22–27 | σοφια γαρ κτλ.] Perles ap. Sm. compares Prov. xv, 33.

Sir. xxiv, 2 ff. Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑψίστου στόμα αὐτῆς ἀνοίξει, καὶ ἔναντι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ καυχήσεται. 3. Ἐγὼ ἀπὸ στόματος ὑψίστου ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ὡς ὁμίχλη κατεκάλυψα γῆν. 4. Ἐγὼ

ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατεσκήνωσα, καὶ ὁ θρόνος μου ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης... 9. πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἔκτισέν με, καὶ ἕως αἰῶνος οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπω. "In the assembly of the Most High she (wisdom) will open her mouth, and before his host she will exalt herself. 3. I came forth from the mouth of the Most High, and like a mist I covered the earth. 4. I made my dwelling on high, and my seat was in the pillar of cloud... 9. From of old, in the beginning he created me, and I shall never cease to exist."

There is no Hebrew for these verses | εκκλησ.] Lag. ; Fritzsche FKE 'also das israelitische Volk' | δυναμ.] Lag. ; Ryssel KAP 'Heerschar'; Oesterley CAP 'hosts' | εν στυλω νεφ.] Fritzsche does not think this a reference to 'the pillar of cloud' in Ex.; Ryssel 'Der Ausdruck „Säule" lehnt sich wohl an Ex. 14, 19 u. a. ... an, nicht aber ist diese selbst hier gemeint...' | προ του αιωνος] Lag. ; Sm. compares xlii, 21. where Hebr. has עולם; Ryssel supposes עד עולם stood here | ου μη εκλιπω] Lag. ; Oesterley follows Syr. in translating; Fritzsche sees no reference to pre-existence in this verse; Sm. 'Deshalb ... muss sie aber im Himmel präexistirt haben.'

Wis. ix, 9. καὶ μετὰ σοῦ ἡ σοφία ἡ εἰδυῖα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ παροῦσα ὅτε ἐποίεις τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπισταμένη τί ἀρεστὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ τί εὐθὲς ἐν ἐντολαῖς σου. "And with thee ⟨is⟩ (or was) wisdom, who knows thy works, and was present when thou madest the world, and understands what is pleasing in thy sight and what is right according to thy commandments."

μετα σου κτλ.] Grimm FKE 'Einfacher und natürlicher ist es, mit vs. 9 einen neuen Satz zu beginnen und ἦν zu μετὰ σοῦ zu suppliren ...'

Bar. iv, 1. Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος τῶν προσταγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. "This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law which exists forever."

νομος] Kneu. thinks that חק or משפט stood here, while προσταγ. is a mistranslation of תורה. It would be simpler to suppose the order and sense of the Greek are correct.

There is a passage in Philo, De Spec. Legibus lib. i § 31 (M. II p. 216.), where, probably under the influence of Stoic doctrine, he compares the law-abiding and pious life with writing engraved on the 'pillars of nature.' It is not clear whether this is merely

a picturesque expression of the Stoic teaching on 'living in accordance with nature,' or a vague allusion to the eternal and supernatural character of the law. ἀθάνατος ἥδε ἡ ζωὴ καὶ μακραίων ἐν ταῖς τῆς φύσεως στήλαις ἀναγέγραπται. ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ γράμματα τῷ κόσμῳ συνδιαιωνίζειν ἀναγκαῖον.

In two books, Sirach and Wisdom, considerable space is given to an account of the benefits which σοφία confers upon those who live in accordance with her precepts.

Sir. iv, 11–13. ἡ σοφία υἱοὺς ἑαυτῆς ἀνύψωσε, καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῶν ζητούντων αὐτήν. 12. ὁ ἀγαπῶν αὐτὴν ἀγαπᾷ ζωήν, καὶ οἱ ὀρθρίζοντες πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐμπλησθήσονται εὐφροσύνης. 13. ὁ κρατῶν αὐτῆς κληρονομήσει δόξαν, καὶ οὗ εἰσπορεύεται εὐλογήσει κύριος. "Wisdom exalts her sons, and reaches those who seek her. 12. He who loves her loves life, and those who look for her will be filled with joy. 13. He who takes hold of her will receive glory, and wherever he goes the Lord will bless ⟨him⟩."

ἑαυτης] Van. εαυτη several mss. have εαυτης; Fritzsche FKE 'Der Genetiv ist jedenfalls natürlicher' | ανυψωσε] Lag. ܐܟܣܕ Str. לגדה | επιλαμβ.] Lag. ܐܬܚܙ (Sm. 'vielleicht = תאיר') Str. תעיר; Ryssel KAP translates Gr., 'nimmt sich an'; Oesterley CAP translates Syr., 'enlighteneth' | ζητ.] Lag. ܡܬܫܐܠܝܢ Str. מבינים; Sm. 'vielleicht las er (i.e. Gr.) wie Hebr.'; Ryssel 'die sie zu erlangen suchen'; Oesterley 'who give heed to her' | ορθριζ.] Lag. ܕܡܫܟܚܝ ܠܗ Str. מבקשיה; Sm. and Ryssel explain Gr. as translation of משחריה; Ryssel 'suchen'; Oesterley 'seek' | εμπλησ. ευφρ.] Lag. ܢܬܡܠܝ ܒܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ Str. יסיקו רצון מיי; Sm. 'Gr. ... hat wohl wie Hebr. יסיקו und verstand רצון möglicherweise im Sinne von Ps. 145, 16.'; Ryssel translates Gr., Oesterley Syr., 'shall obtain grace from the Lord' | δοξαν] Lag. and Str. add 'from the Lord' (Sm. 'es ist aus v. 12 eingedrungen') | εισπορ. κτλ.] Lag. ܘܒܗ ܢܬܒܪܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܟܠ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ Str. ויחנו ברכת "; Syr. and Hebr. agree substantially with Gr.

Sir. xiv, 20–27. μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐν σοφίᾳ μελετήσει, καὶ ὃς ἐν συνέσει αὐτοῦ διαλεχθήσεται ... 26. θήσει τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ αὐτῆς, καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς κλάδους αὐτῆς αὐλισθήσεται. "Happy is the man who meditates on wisdom, and who speaks out in accordance with his understanding ... 26. He puts his children under her (wisdom's) protection, and under her branches he dwells."

μελετ.] Van. τελευτησει $\aleph^{ca}$ and other mss. μελετησει Lag. ינן Str. יהגה; the latter is supported by the parallelism; Fritzsche FKE thinks μελετ. 'unzweifelhaft das Richtige,' so also Sm., Ryssel KAP, Oesterley CAP | διαλεχ.] A and two other mss. διαδεχθησεται 248, 23 + αγια | θησει] A C $\aleph^{*}$ στησει Lag. לִיסֹּךְ Str. ישים | τεκνα] Lag. ܐܡܝܣܘܢ (probably a scribal error for ܡܟܡܝܣܘܢ cf. Sm.) Str. קנו; Ryssel translates Syr., 'er greift mit seinen Händen nach ihren Ästen'; Oesterley translates Hebr., 'buildeth his nest' and explains Gr. as reading בניו for קנו; I think the Gr. may be kept as a free translation of קנו, like the Syr. ܡܟܡܝܣܘܢ; Sm. 'Gr. ausdeutend'; Fritzsche compares Ps. xxv, 13.

Sir. xv, 1–3. ὁ φοβούμενος κύριον ποιήσει αὐτό, καὶ ὁ ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ νόμου καταλήψεται αὐτήν. 2. καὶ ὑπαντήσεται αὐτῷ ὡς μήτηρ, καὶ ὡς γυνὴ παρθενίας προσδέξεται αὐτόν. 3. ψωμιεῖ αὐτὸν ἄρτον συνέσεως, καὶ ὕδωρ σοφίας ποτίσει αὐτόν ... "He who reverences the Lord will do these things, and he who keeps the law will find her (wisdom). 2. And she will go out to meet him like a mother, and like the wife of his youth she will receive him. 3. She will give him bread of understanding to eat, and the water of wisdom she will give him to drink." Cf. Sir. xvi, 24–30., li, 13–22., Bar. iv, 1–4.

αυτο] Several mss. have αυτα Lag. ומחזק Str. ואת; the reference is to ch. xiv; Perles ap. Ryssel KAP suggests that Syr. and Gr. misunderstood an original יעשה כן, 'wird recht handeln' | εγκρατης] 23, 253 ο ειληφως γνωσιν του νομου 248 ο εγκρατης γνωσεως νομου Lag. ומחזק בתושיה Str. תופש תורה; εγκρ. in the sense of 'studying and observing the law,' I translate for simplicity 'keeps' | καταληψ.] Lag. ולבחוץ סמ (Sm. 'schlecht') Str. וידריכנה (Sm. 'das Verbum bedeutet hier ... „erreichen"') | αυτην] A αυτον | γυνη παρθ.] Lag. ולבן כלכלתהו Str. אשת נעוריו.

In the book of Wisdom the moral aspects of σοφία are treated eloquently in the following passages.

Wis. i, 4–7. ὅτι εἰς κακότεχνον ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται σοφία, οὐδὲ κατοικήσει ἐν σώματι καταχρέῳ ἁμαρτίας. 5. ἅγιον γὰρ πνεῦμα παιδείας φεύξεται δόλον, καὶ ἀπαναστήσεται ἀπὸ λογισμῶν ἀσυνέτων, καὶ ἐλεγχθήσεται ἐπελθούσης ἀδικίας. 6. φιλάνθρωπον γὰρ πνεῦμα σοφίας, καὶ οὐκ ἀθωώσει βλάσφημον ἀπὸ χειλέων αὐτοῦ ... "Now wisdom does not enter a soul that devises evil, nor does it dwell in a body bound to sin. 5. For the holy spirit of instruction flees from deceit and goes

out of the way of foolish thoughts, and is driven away by the appearance of wrongdoing. 6. For wisdom is a spirit belonging to men who are kind, and will not acquit the impious man of ⟨the evil spoken by⟩ his lips."

παιδειας] A 248 σοφιας Lag. ܡܢܝܢܘܣ; Grimm FKE 'religiös-sittliche Bildung'; Siegfried KAP 'Zucht'; Holmes CAP 'discipline' | ελεγχθ.] Lag. ܢܟܗܣܢ ܟܡ ̈ ܢܟܗܣܢ; Grimm 'wird beschämt ... indessen empfiehlt der Parallelismus ... die Bed. verscheucht werden'; Siegfried 'wird von Rügegeist erfüllt werden'; Holmes 'will be scared away' | αδικιας] 248 ανομιας Lag. ܢܟܗܣܢ | vs. 6] Grimm explains the γάρ as connecting vs. 6 with the preceding five verses; Siegfried 'Der erste Stichos von vs. 6 φιλ. ... σοφια stört den Zusammenhang, ist mit Bois zwischen v. 13 u. 14 zu setzen'; Holmes '... it does not seem rash to suggest that the line may be an interpolation on the basis of vii, 22–3' | φιλανθρ.] Lag. ܕܡܚܒ ܢܫܡܬܐ ̈ ܒܗ ܟܡܠܡܢ; Siegfried 'Denn ein menschenfreundlicher Geist ist die Weisheit'; Holmes 'a spirit that loveth man.' I take the adjective to be transferred in meaning to the men in whom Wisdom may be thought to dwell, in contrast to those mentioned in vs. 4; it is not necessary to change the reading to φιλανθρωπων to get the meaning I attribute to it | σοφια 20] several mss. have σοφιας Lag. ܕܡܚܒ̈ܬ; Grimm 'für den Sinn ist die Verschiedenheit der LA. gleichgültig ...'

Wis. vi, 13–26. traces for the benefit of " the rulers of nations " the succession of steps that lead from a desire for instruction to assurance of permanent sovereignty. The form of the argument is the sorites, of which the Stoics were especially fond, according to Zeller ap. Holmes CAP, tho the author, writing with poetic freedom, has not made each proposition dependent on the preceding by repetition of the same word; v. Grimm FKE. I do not think, as Grimm does, that the author refers, in vs. 21. 23., to " blessed immortality " and the eternal sovereignty of the Jews in the messianic kingdom. It seems to me that we have simply a more exalted form of practical morality, an exhortation to kings to observe God's law in order that their reign may be established securely thru themselves and their children. The assurance of having successors of their own line would be intended by the use of the word ἀφθαρσία, vs. 20.; cf. Aris. § 188 for the thought.

Wis. vi, 18. ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ ἀληθεστάτη παιδείας ἐπιθυμία. 19. φροντὶς δὲ παιδείας ἀγάπη, ἀγάπη δὲ τήρησις νόμων αὐτῆς,

προσοχὴ δὲ νόμων βεβαίωσις ἀφθαρσίας. 20. ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ. 21. ἐπιθυμία ἄρα σοφίας ἀνάγει ἐπὶ βασιλείαν. 22. εἰ οὖν ἥδεσθε ἐπὶ θρόνοις καὶ σκήπτροις τύραννοι λαῶν, 23. τιμήσατε σοφίαν, ἵνα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα βασιλεύσητε ... "The beginning of it (wisdom) is the most sincere desire for instruction. 19. And the concern for instruction is love, and love is observance of its (wisdom's) laws, and the keeping of the laws is assurance of immortality. 20. And immortality brings one near to God. 21. The desire for wisdom, then, leads to sovereignty. 22. Therefore, if you value thrones and sceptres, you rulers of nations, 23. honor wisdom, in order that you may rule for ever."

αληθ. παιδ. κτλ.] Lag. ܐܠܦ ܕܣܦܪܐ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ | αγαπη] Grimm compares Ex. xx, 6., Deut. v, 10., vii, 9. | βεβαι. αφθαρ.] Lag. ܫܡܪ ܢܡܘܣ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ | On vs. 20—23 cf. Grimm.

In Wis. ch. vii Solomon is represented as one who has sought divine wisdom before all other things (as in Sir. li, the author tells how he has sought wisdom from his earliest youth, and will continue to do so as long as he lives); and in vs. 22 ff. he describes the physical and moral attributes of wisdom in terms that resemble the language of Stoicism. V. Grimm FKE ad l.

The guiding activity of Wisdom in the course of biblical history, from the time of Adam to the exodus, is traced in Wis. ch. x. It is a curious fact that the various biblical characters are indirectly presented and not mentioned by name; the Syriac however supplies the names of Cain, Noah, Lot, Jacob and Joseph. Wis. x, 1. Αὕτη πρωτόπλαστον πατέρα κόσμου ⟨οὐ⟩ μόνον κτισθέντα διεφύλαξεν καὶ ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ παραπτώματος ἰδίου, 2. ἔδωκέ τε ⟨καὶ⟩ αὐτῷ ἰσχὺν κρατῆσαι ἁπάντων ... 10. αὕτη φυγάδα ὀργῆς ἀδελφοῦ δίκαιον ὡδήγησεν ἐν τρίβοις εὐθείαις, ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν θεοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γνῶσιν ἁγίων, εὐπόρησεν αὐτὸν ἐν μόχθοις καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῦ. "She (Wisdom) not only protected the first-formed father of the world (Adam) when he was created, and saved him from ⟨the consequences of⟩ the fall brought about by himself, 2. but also gave him power over all things... 10. She guided in the right paths the righteous man (Jacob), who was a fugitive from the

anger of his brother, revealed to him the sovereignty of God, gave him knowledge of holy things, caused his efforts to succeed and multiplied ⟨the fruits of⟩ his labor."

ου μονον] Van. and mss. μονον Lag. merely connects verbs by conj. 'and.' I follow Bois ap. Siegfried KAP, who reads ου μονον ... τε και; τε και may be postponed to vs. 2; Grimm FKE reading μονον translates it 'schutzlos' | εξειλατο] 68 εξετεινα 157 εξιλασατο Lag. ; Grimm 'schützte ihn ... vor äusserer Gefahr' | παραπτωμ.] Lag. ; in LXX παραπτωμ. = פשע, חטא &c. v. HR; Grimm, Siegfried 'Fall'; Holmes CAP 'transgression' | ιδιου] Lag. ?. I follow Grimm in supposing that the author contrasts the external dangers implied in διεφυλαξε with Adam's own sin, παραπτωμα | απαντων] Lag. ; Grimm 'schwerlich nach talmudischen Vorstellungen ..., sondern ... von der sublunarischen vernunftlosen Schöpfung zu verstehen' | τριβ. ευθ.] Lag. ; Grimm 'hier nicht tropisch' | εδειζεν κτλ.] Grimm 'bezieht sich ohne Zweifel auf 1 Mos. 28, 12 f.' | βασιλ. θεου] Lag. ; Grimm 'regimen Dei'; Siegfried 'Reich Gottes'; Holmes 'God's kingdom.' The reference is probably to the theophany at Beth-El, as Grimm says | γνωσιν αγιων] Lag. (perhaps a scribal error for); Grimm 'Kenntniss des Uebersinnlichen'; Siegfried 'Kenn. der heiligen Dinge'; Holmes 'knowledge of holy things.'

We may, finally, cite two passages from Sirach which are interesting because of the references to the 'yoke of the law.' The expressions עול התורה and עול מצות are very common in rabbinic writings; for references v. KNT pp. 608–609, on Math. xi, 29. The notion of some modern scholars, including Schürer, that the yoke of the law, the observance of all the ritual and religious regulations of the Mishna must have been burdensome to the Jews, is a mistaken one; cf. ART pp. 70–71, 91, and ch. xi " The Joy of the Law." In the following verses of Sirach the glorious reward for assuming the burden imposed by Wisdom, or the law, is described in the same fashion as in numerous rabbinic passages.

Sir. vi, 24–31. και εισένεγκον τους πόδας σου εις τας πέδας αυτης, και εις τον κλοιον αυτης τον τράχηλόν σου. 25. ὑπόθες τον ὦμόν σου και βάσταξον αυτήν, και μη προσοχθίσης τοις δεσμοις αυτης ... 28. επ' εσχάτων γαρ εύρήσεις την ανάπαυσιν αυτης, και στραφήσεταί σοι εις εὐφροσύνην. 29. και ἔσονταί σοι αί πέδαι εις σκέπην ισχύος, και οί κλοιοι αυτης εις στολην

δόξης. "And bring your feet into her fetters, and under her yoke, your neck. 25. Put your shoulder under ⟨her yoke⟩ and carry it (lit. her), and do not chafe at her bonds... 28. For in the end you will find comfort in her, and she will change into ⟨a source of⟩ joy for you. 29. And her fetters will be a glorious covering for you, and her yoke, a splendid garment.

> Vs. 24 is missing in Hebr. | εισενεγκον] several mss. have εισενεγκαι | κλοιον] Lag. ܥܘܠܐ; Sm. 'das Wort steht hier wie meistens in der LXX wohl für על'; in vs. 30 it corresponds to חבלים or חבלים; Ryssel KAP 'Halseisen'; Oesterley CAP 'chain' | δεσμοις] Lag. ܐܣܘܪܐ Str. תחבולותה (probably to be emended to חבליה, with Peters ap. Str.) | σκεπην ισχ.] Lag. ܣܟܘܠ ܚܫܝܢ Str. מכון עז (Sm. 'allerdings bedeutet vielmehr „herrlicher Standort" und ist ungefähr ... Thron'); Ryssel 'zum starken Schutze'; Oesterley 'a stay of strength' | κλοιοι κτλ.] Lag. omits, Str. וחבלתה בנדי כתם (Peters ap. Str. חבליה) | On vs. 29 cf. Pirḳe Abot ch. vi.

Sir. li, 26. ...τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν, καὶ ἐπιδεξάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν παιδείαν. "... put your necks under her yoke, and let your souls welcome instruction."

> παιδειαν] 23 ταπεινωσιν Lag. ܣܟܝܢܘܬܐ Str. משאה; Ryssel KAP follows Gr. in translating, Oesterley CAP follows Hebr.

Philo states the relation between the law and wisdom a little differently, in De Virtutibus § 65 (M. II p. 386.), where he explains that the Jews arrived at the idea of philosophical monotheism thru their laws and observances, whereas only the most skilled of heathen philosophers might reach an equally sublime idea thru philosophical reasoning. ὅπερ γὰρ ἐκ φιλοσοφίας τῆς δοκιμωτάτης περιγίνεται τοῖς ὁμιληταῖς αὐτῆς, τοῦτο διὰ νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν Ἰουδαίοις, ἐπιστήμη τοῦ ἀνωτάτου καὶ πρεσβυτάτου πάντων αἰτίου... Cf. Aris. § 139 in seq.

2. Commandments

The same delight in praising God's law, his statutes and ordinances, and the same expression of reprobation of those who disobey his commandments that we find in the Psalms and in the priestly narrative of the Old Testament, we also find in all the apocryphal books we are studying. The historical books of the Maccabees testify to the devotion of the Jews to their "fathers'

laws"; the pseudo-historical books, Judith and Tobit, tell the story of the lives of pious individuals; the didactic books, Baruch, Sirach and Wisdom, are full of exhortations to obey the commandments, and even in an eschatological book like the Testaments, the admonition to "keep the law and the commandments" is frequently given.

An acute consciousness of being altogether separated from the heathen nations by their worship of one God and their abhorrence of idolatry is present to the authors of all these books. The author of the Letter of Aristeas has stated the difference and the means by which it is maintained more explicitly than did Philo in the passage quoted in the preceding section; both writers, it should be noted, make it clear that not only is the God of Israel the one true God, but that he is to be worshipped in accordance with the commandments given to Moses. Aris. § 139. συνθεωρήσας οὖν ἕκαστα σοφὸς ὢν ὁ νομοθέτης, ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῶν ἁπάντων, περιέφραξεν ἡμᾶς ἀδιασκόποις χάραξι καὶ σιδηροῖς τείχεσιν, ὅπως μηθενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἐπιμισγώμεθα κατὰ μηδέν, ἁγνοὶ καθεστῶτες κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχήν, ἀπολελυμένοι ματαίων δοξῶν, τὸν μόνον θεὸν καὶ δυνατὸν σεβόμενοι παρ' ὅλην τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν. "Now the law-giver, who had been endowed by God with ability to understand all things, considered all these matters and fenced us about with impenetrable barriers and iron walls, in order that we might not in any way mix with the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free of false beliefs and worshipping the almighty God alone above the whole creation."

The commandments, like the Torah itself, are eternal. (For rabbinic references v. KNT p. 244 ff. on Math. v, 18.)

Tob. i, 6. καὶ ἐγὼ μόνος ἐπορευόμην πλεονάκις εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, καθὼς γέγραπται παντὶ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν προστάγματι αἰωνίῳ ... "And I regularly went up alone to Jerusalem on the festivals, as it is prescribed for all Israel by an eternal commandment ..." Cf. Bar. iv, 1.; v. supra p. 46.

προστ. αιων.] Lag. ܩܕܡܝܢ ܘܠܥܠܡ Neu. בספר אוריתא דמשה; Fritzsche FKE ‹ Das πρόσταγμα ist αἰώνιον, חק עולם, Jer. 5. 22, Ez. 46. 15, 2 Mos. 27. 21 ... als ewig dauernd, ewig in Kraft bleibend.'

The author of the Letter of Aristeas, using the midrashic method that Philo later made peculiarly his own, emphasizes the ethical character of the commandments, which, he says, were given to remind the Jews continually of their duties to God and their fellow men. Aris. § 168 ff. ὁ δὲ νόμος ἡμῶν κελεύει μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ μηδένα κακοποιεῖν. καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ⟨διεξῆλθον προσυποδείξας⟩ σοι διότι πάντα κεκανόνισται πρὸς δικαιοσύνην, καὶ οὐδὲν εἰκῇ κατατέτακται διὰ τῆς γραφῆς οὐδὲ μυθωδῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα δι' ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀσκῶμεν δικαιοσύνην πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, μεμνημένοι τοῦ δυναστεύοντος θεοῦ. § 169. περὶ βρωτῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων ἑρπετῶν καὶ κνωδάλων καὶ πᾶς λόγος ἀνατείνει πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων συναναστροφὴν δικαίαν. "Our law commands us not to injure anyone in word or deed. Now concerning these things I have spoken briefly to show you that all ⟨these regulations⟩ have been made with a view to righteousness, and that nothing in scripture has been commanded without good reason or idly, but in order that thruout our lives and in ⟨all⟩ our actions we may deal righteously with all men, being mindful of God who rules ⟨over us⟩. § 169. And so concerning food and unclean reptiles and beasts, every regulation aims at righteousness and righteous relations between men." Cf. Sir. xix, 20–24.

μυθωδως] mss. θυμωδως Ευς. μυθ.; Wendland KAP and Andrews CAP read μυθ. | πας λογος] Wendland 'die ganze Bestimmung'; Andrews 'the whole system.'

In several passages of the Testaments observance of the commandments is also directly connected with social righteousness. Test. Benj. x, 3. ποιήσατε οὖν ἀλήθειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καὶ κρίμα εἰς πιστοποίησιν, καὶ τὸν νόμον κυρίου καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ φυλάξατε. "Now deal truthfully and righteously, everyone with his fellow, and give judgment that may be relied on, and keep the law of the Lord and his commandments." Cf. Test. Is. v, 1–2., Test. Dan. v, 1–3., Test. Asher vi, 1–6.

και δικαιοσ.] Charles omits | μετα τ. πλησιον] Charles προς τον πλησιον | κριμα εις πιστοπ.] Charles omits; κριμα, משפט, and δικαιοσυνη, צדקה, are often used together in Ezekiel, cf. ch. xxxiii, v. HR | CT translates both the text of C and of β, A, S^1 which agrees with Sinker's.

The biblical teaching that observance of the commandments brings to the pious assurance of God's favor, and expressions of delight in fulfilling the requirements of the law, and exhortations to be faithful to it, such as are abundantly found in the Psalms, are also common in the apocryphal books. Passages relating to the observance of the law, we have already noticed in the preceding section. We may now select for quotation a number of passages in which the commandments, מצות, ἐντολαί in the LXX, are specifically mentioned.

Sir. i, 26. ἐπεθύμησας σοφίαν, διατήρησον ἐντολάς, καὶ κύριος χορηγήσει σοι αὐτήν. "If you desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord will freely give it (wisdom) to you."

Sir. vi, 37. διανοοῦ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασι κυρίου, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ μελέτα διαπαντός. Αὐτὸς στηριεῖ τὴν καρδίαν σου, καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σοφίας σου δοθήσεταί σοι. "Be mindful of the statutes of the Lord, and on his commandments reflect continually. He will make your understanding firm, and your desire for wisdom will be fulfilled."

προσταγ.] 248, 253, Compl. add τελειως Lag. ܡܦܩܕ̈ܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ Str. ניראת עליון; Sm. 'man möchte nach 38, 34 בתורת עליון herstellen, aber Gr. κυριος hätte als Uebersetzung von עליון kaum ... eine Parallele, und auch προστάγματα für תורה kommt in Sirach kaum (doch s. z. 39, 18) vor'; Ryssel KAP 'Gebote'; Oesterley CAP 'fear' | στηριει] Lag. ܢܩܝܡ Str. יבין. The Gr. is perhaps, as has been suggested, a translation of יכין | καρδιαν] Lag. ܠܒܐ Str. לבך. The Gr. and Hebr. 'heart' is to be understood in the common sense of 'intellect' or 'understanding' | σου 2°] א A C omit; Fritzsche FKE 'σου gehört zu ἐπιθυμία.' The Hebr. and Syr. read a little differently but have substantially the same meaning as Gr., Lag. ܘܢܬܬ ܠܟ ܚܟܡܬܐ Str. יתכנך (Schechter איתה ואשר איתה; Sm. 'Gr. frei.'

Sir. xxxv (Sw. xxxii), 23–24. ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ πίστευε (?) τῇ ψυχῇ σου, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστι τήρησις ἐντολῶν. 24. ὁ πιστεύων νόμῳ προσέχει ἐντολαῖς, καὶ ὁ πεποιθὼς κυρίῳ οὐκ ελαττωθήσεται. "In every act take heed to yourself, for that is what

keeping the commandments means. 24. He who believes in the law obeys the commandments, and he who has trust in God will not be unprovided for." Cf. Sir. ii, 15–16., x, 19–25., xv, 1–10., xxi, 11., xxxv, 14–15., xlv, 5. 17.

> εργω] 218, 308, Compl. add αγαθω Lag. ܒܥܒܕ ܛܒ݂ Str. בכל מעשיך | πιστευε τ. ψυχη] Lag. ܒܛܝ Str. שמור נפשך. The use of שמור, translated by πιστευων in vs. 24, may explain πιστευε here if the Gr. translator had שמור before him; Sm. compares Prov. xix, 16. שומר מצוה שומר נפשו; Ryssel KAP 'Gieb Obacht'; Box CAP 'guard thyself' | εντολων] several mss. have εντολης Lag. ܛܨ݂ܢ Str. מצוה | πιστευων νομω] 296, 308 προσεχων νομω Lag. ܕܢܛܘܪ ܒܐܘܪܚܬܗ (which might be closely translated in colloquial English, 'who watches his step') Str. שומר נפשו | εντολαις] several mss. have εντολη Lag. ܛܨ݂ܢ Str. תורה; Sm. 'vielleicht ist Gr. durch v. 23 beeinflusst' | ελαττωθ.] Lag. ܛܨ݂ ܟܟܟܣ Str. יבוש'; Sm. following I. Lévi, 'vielleicht ist יבוש Korrektur für יחסר = Fehler für יחסר; the first step in Lévi's explanation seems to me difficult; Ryssel 'wird nicht zu Schanden kommen'; Box 'shall not be brought to shame.'

Bar. iii, 9. ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ ἐντολὴς ζωῆς, ἐνωτίσασθε γνῶναι φρόνησιν. " Hear, oh Israel, the commandments of life, give ear that you may have wisdom." Cf. Bar. iii, 36.

> ζωης] 233 κυριου; cf. Deut. xxx, 15 et al. Kneu. cites a number of biblical passages where similar expressions occur | γνωναι φρον.] Kneu. 'kann sowohl לדעת בינה ... als auch לדעת דעה (cf. Prov. iv, 1 b) gestanden haben'; φρόνησις is usually 'practical wisdom.'

In Bar. iv, 1–4. the proud consciousness of the Jews of their superiority to the Gentiles in having the commandments is vigorously expressed. Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος τῶν προσταγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. πάντες οἱ κρατοῦντες αὐτὴν, εἰς ζωήν. οἱ δὲ καταλείποντες αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦνται ... 3. μὴ δῷς ἑτέρῳ τὴν δόξαν σου, καὶ τὰ συμφέροντά σοι ἔθνει αλλοτρίῳ. 4. μακάριοί ἐσμεν Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι τὰ ἀρεστὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῖν γνωστά ἐστιν. " This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law which exists for ever. All those who take hold of it (are assured) of life. But those who forsake it will die ... 3. Do not give your glory and your benefits to a foreign nation. 4. Happy are we, oh Israel, because the will of God is revealed to us."

On vs. 1 a v. supra p. 46 | εις ζωην] Fritzsche FKE 'nicht nämlich κρατοῦντές εισι ..., sondern zu suppliren ist etwa ἐλεύσονται'; Kneu. 'unnötigerweise ergänzen Fritzsche und Reusch ... ἐλευσονται zu εις ζωην ... zu erklären ist „die halten daran fest (sich) zum Leben"'; Rothstein KAP 'gewinnen das Leben'; Whitehouse CAP 'are appointed to life' | αρεστα τ. θεου κτλ.] A Q αρεστα τω θεω 233 τω κυριω 239 κυριω τω θεω 106 τω θεω ημων Lag. ܒܥܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ; Fritzsche 'der Genetivus subjectivus liess sich ... setzen'; Kneu. 'zum Gedanken vgl. Ps. 33, 12. 112, 1. 119, 1, 2. 144, 15. Jes. 56, 2. Prov. 24, 18.' Kneu. retranslates, רצון אלהים 'oder auch (השוב) בעיני אלהים הישר' | δοξα] Lag. ; Kneu. 'steht hier sicher für יהוה und bezeichnet dem ganzen Texte zufolge die religiöse Würde und Hoheit Israels' | τ. συμφερ.] Lag. ; Kneu. '= יתר oder יתרון'; συμφ. usually in LXX for טוב or טובה; Rothstein 'dein Heil'; Whitehouse 'things that are profitable to thee.'

The same proud feeling that Israel has been chosen by God as the people to whom the commandments are to be given, is expressed by one of the rabbis. Makkot 23 b, רבי חנניא בן עקשיא אומר רצה הקב"ה לזכות את ישראל לפיכך הרבה להם תורה ומצוה. "Rabbi Ḥanania ben ʿAḳashia says, it was because the Holy One desired to give Israel an opportunity to acquire merit, that he gave them so much Torah and so many commandments."

The author of Wisdom, in speaking of the Egyptian plagues, by which the Jews were also troubled, makes it clear that the Jews were not being punished for the same reasons as the Egyptians, but were being admonished, that they might remember the commandments. Wis. xvi, 6. εἰς νουθεσίαν δὲ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐταράχθησαν, σύμβολον ἔχοντες σωτηρίας, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἐντολῆς νόμου σου. "As a warning, they were troubled for a little while, having ⟨however⟩ a sign of deliverance, that they might remember the commandment of thy law." Cf. Az. vs. 6–7.

The verse, according to Fritzsche FKE, refers to the brazen serpent, Num. xxi, 8. 9. | συμβολον] Van. א A 23 συμβουλον; Lag. omits the whole phrase. Fritzsche mentions Philo's interpretation of the brazen serpent as a symbol of σωφροσύνη | εις αναμνη. κτλ.] Lag. | νομου σου] A 248, 296 νομον 55 νομους Lag. .

In the books of the Maccabees this national pride in the possession of the law is shown by the resolution of the Jews to fight unyieldingly for the law and the ordinances of their fathers, τὰ

πάτρια νόμιμα, in the confident belief that God will defend those who obey his commandments.

1 Mac. ii, 67–68.—the last words of Mattathias to his sons. καὶ ὑμεῖς προσάξατε πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντας τοὺς ποιητοὺς τοῦ νόμου, καὶ ἐκδικήσατε ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν. 68. ἀνταπόδοτε ἀνταπόδομα τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ προσέχετε εἰς τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ νόμου. "And do you gather to yourselves all those who observe the law, and avenge the cause of your people. 68. Requite the nations ⟨for what they have done⟩, and be faithful to the statutes of the law."

ανταποδοτε] ℵ ανταποδοται A -διδοτε Lag. ܬܗܦܘܟ | προστ.] ℵ προσταγμα Lag. ܡܬܩܢܝܢ.

2 Mac. viii, 36.—after the defeat of Nicanor by Judas. καὶ ὁ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀναδεξάμενος φόρον ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αἰχμαλωσίας κατορθώσασθαι, κατήγγελλεν ὑπέρμαχον ἔχειν τὸν θεὸν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καὶ διὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἀτρώτους εἶναι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διὰ τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προστεταγμένοις νόμοις. "And he who had undertaken to secure tribute for the Romans from ⟨the sale of⟩ the captives ⟨taken⟩ in Jerusalem, proclaimed that the Jews had a champion in God, and for this reason the Jews were invulnerable, because they obeyed the laws ordained by him."

θεον] several mss. omit, Lag. has it; Grimm FKE 'ist unentbehrlich' | προστεταγ.] Van. προτεταγ. other mss. διατεταγ., τεταγ. 106 προτερον τεταγ. Lag. simply ܡܬܩܢܝܢ; Kamphausen KAP 'Gesetze ..., die er ihnen geboten hat'; Moffatt CAP 'laws which he enacted.'

In 3 Mac. vii, 10–15. the Alexandrian Jews are said to have punished with death their fellow Jews who had "transgressed against the law."

What commandments the author of 2 Maccabees considered as particularly important we may get some idea of from 2 Mac. vi, 6., tho the verse should not be taken as an explicit statement, or as more than an interesting parenthesis. In speaking of the observances prohibited by the Syrians, he says ἦν δ' οὔτε σαββατίζειν οὔτε πατρῴους ἑορτὰς διαφυλάττειν οὔτε ἁπλῶς Ἰουδαῖον εἶναι. "It was not possible either to keep the sabbath,

or to observe the feasts of their fathers, or to be known as a Jew at all." V. infra p. 84.

εορτας] 55, 56, 106 εντολας Lag. ‏חיכיו‏ | διαφυλ.] 19, 62, 93 εορταζειν ουδε διαφυλαττειν Lag. ‏ונטר סנהץ‏ | απλως κτλ.] Lag. ‏נסיון סנהסין סח יפשסיון אב‏; Grimm FKE 'schlechthin oder im Allgemeinen Jude ... selbst der Name Juden sollte getilgt werden.'

In Test. Naph. viii, 7–10. the twofold nature of the commandments is spoken of. Exactly what the basis of the distinction is, the author does not make clear, tho he speaks of their 'time' and 'order.' The use of καιρός might suggest the broad philosophical antitheses of Eccles. ch. iii, where the LXX has καιρός for עת. I am inclined to think however that the two instances chosen, " a proper time for marital intercourse " and " a proper time for abstinence, in order to pray," perhaps with reference to the Day of Atonement, point to some such distinction between positive and negative commandments as the rabbis commonly made. Cf. Makkot 23 b where the מצוות תעשה and the לא תעשה are explained. καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἐντολαὶ τοῦ νόμου διπλαὶ εἰσί, καὶ μετὰ τέχνης πληροῦνται. 8. καιρὸς γὰρ συνουσίας γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας εἰς προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ. 9. καὶ δύο αἱ ἐντολαί εἰσι, καὶ εἰ μὴ γένωνται ἐν τάξει αὐτῶν, ἁμαρτίαν παρέχουσιν. οὕτως ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ λοιπῶν ἐντολῶν. " Now the commandments of the law are of two kinds, and they should be carried out with discrimination. 8. For there is a proper time for intercourse with one's wife, and a proper time for abstinence, in order to pray. 9. These commandments are of two kinds, and if they are not performed in the proper order, they involve sin. So it is with the rest of the commandments."

τεχνης] CT 'prudence'; Schnapp KAP 'Kunst'; in LXX τεχνη is twice used for חכמה, in 1 Kings vii, 1 f. of Hiram, and in Dan. i, 17., בכל ספר וחכמה | κ. δυο κτλ.] Charles και αι δυο του θεου εισι; CT translates after Sinker's text | γενωνται] Charles εγενοντο | αμαρτιαν] Charles adds μεγιστην | παρεχουσιν] Charles παρειχον τοις ανθρωποις | ουτως] Charles το αυτο.

3. Study of the Law

The age in which most of the apocryphal books were written was the period in which the study of the scriptures became the

chief concern of the non-priestly religious leaders of the people. Before that time it was the priests who were the authorities in matters of ritual and civil law. There now arose a class of learned men, 'the scribes,' סופרים, γραμματεῖς in the LXX and New Testament (1 Ez. viii, 8 ff. has ἀναγνώστης for the γραμματεύς of the canonical book), who, in the Maccabean period, were largely drawn from the party of Pharisees. The interpretation and exact formulation of laws derived from the general precepts of the bible, and the regulation of observances in the oral law—all these matters were in the care of the scribes, whose successors, the rabbis, eventually made them into a body of written law. The first five chapters of the Mishna treatise Abot trace the successive generations of teachers of the Torah (by which we may understand both the written and oral law) from the time of Moses, Joshua and the prophets down to the time of the rabbis who belonged to the later generations of Tannaim. The long period between the prophets and the high priest Simon 'the Just' (on the meaning of צדיק in this connection v. Geiger, Urschrift p. 26 ff.) is occupied by 'the men of the great synagogue (or 'assembly'),' but nothing more is told of them than that "they said three things. Be deliberate in judging, raise up many disciples, and make a fence around the law." About these men and their successors down to the time of Simeon ben Shaṭaḥ, the rabbinic sources have little information to give. (Cf. Weiss, Dor Dor vedorshav vol. i p. 94 ff.) Whatever few references to the activity of the scribes can be gathered from the apocryphal books may be useful as a supplement to the meager sources in Jewish tradition. (On the scribes v. GJV vol. ii p. 312 ff.)

The Letter of Aristeas tells us something about their character and methods of study. Aris. § 121–122. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἑρμενείας ἑπομένως δηλώσομεν. Ἐπιλέξας γὰρ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφερόντως, ἅτε δὴ γονέων τετευχότας ἐνδόξων, οἵτινες οὐ μόνον τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραμμάτων ἕξιν περιεποίησαν αὑτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐφρόντισαν οὐ παρέργως κατασκευῆς· διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πρεσβείας εὔθετοι καθεστήκεισαν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπετέλουν ὅτε δέοι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς

ὁμιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐπερωτήσεις τὰς διὰ τοῦ νόμου μεγάλην εὐφυίαν εἶχον, τὸ μέσον ἐζηλωκότες κατάστημα (τοῦτο γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστιν), ἀποτεθειμένοι τὸ τραχὺ καὶ βάρβαρον τῆς διανοίας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ κατοίεσθαι καὶ νομίζειν ὑπερφρονεῖν ἑτέρους ὑπερβεβηκότες, τὴν δ' ὁμιλίαν καὶ τὸ συνακούειν καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἀποκρίνεσθαι δεόντως παραδεδεγμένοι, καὶ πάντες· ταῦτα συντηροῦντες καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τούτοις βουλόμενοι ὑπερφέρειν ἕτερος ἑτέρου, καὶ τοῦ καθηγουμένου πάντες ἄξιοι καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς. „We shall describe ⟨the history⟩ of the translation in what follows. He (the high priest Eleazar) selected the noblest and best educated men of distinguished family, who had not only acquired a knowledge of Jewish literature, but had diligently studied Greek literature as well. For this reason they were qualified to serve on embassies, and undertook this duty whenever it was necessary. For discussions and questions concerning the law they possessed great ability. They carefully followed the middle course, which is the best, and avoided a harsh and crude ⟨method of⟩ reasoning, and at the same time were superior to being conceited and seeming to be contemptuous of others, and were willing to discuss with, and to listen to, others and to answer every question thoroughly. They all observed these ⟨rules⟩, and only in these respects were they anxious to surpass one another; they were all worthy of their leader and his excellent character."

Similar virtues are included among the forty-eight which are expected of those who wish to acquire learning in the law, according to Abot vi, 6., modesty about learning, לא מנים לבו בתלמודו, humility, ענוה, moderation, מעט, in various things, discussion with pupils, פלפול התלמידים, teaching by the dialectical method, שואל משיב, and moral excellence, אוהב את המישרים.

In Sir. xxxix, 1–11. the great honor enjoyed by the ideal scribe is compared with the more modest esteem enjoyed by craftsmen, however excellent and useful the latter may be (cf. ch. xxxviii.) πλὴν τοῦ ἐπιδόντος τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διανοουμένου ἐν νόμῳ ὑψίστου. σοφίαν πάντων ἀρχαίων ἐκζητήσει, καὶ ἐν προφητείαις ἀσχοληθήσεται. 2. διηγήσεις ἀνδρῶν ὀνομαστῶν·

συντηρήσει, καὶ ἐν στροφαῖς παραβολῶν συνεισελεύσεται. 3. ἀπόκρυφα παροιμιῶν ἐκζητήσει, καὶ ἐν αἰνίγμασι παραβολῶν ἀναστραφήσεται. 4. ἀναμέσον μεγιστάνων ὑπηρετήσει, καὶ ἔναντι ἡγουμένου ὀφθήσεται 5. ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίων ἐθνῶν διελεύσεται. ἀγαθὰ γὰρ καὶ κακὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπείρασε... 8. αὐτὸς ἐκφανιεῖ παιδείαν διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν νόμῳ διαθήκης κυρίου καυχήσεται... 10. τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ διηγήσεται ἔθνη (?), καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτοῦ ἐξαγγελεῖ ἐκκλησία. "But ⟨different is⟩ he who devotes himself to, and studies, the law of the Most High. He searches the wisdom of all the ancients, and gives his time to the prophecies. 2. He carefully listens to the discourses of famous men, and takes part in the discussions (?) of ⟨the meaning⟩ of parables (?). 3. He inquires into the hidden meaning of proverbs, and busies himself with the riddles of parables. 4. Among great men he serves, and before the ruler he appears. 5. In the countries of foreign nations he travels, for he tries what is good and bad among men... 8. He gives instruction on the basis of his study, and glories in the law of the covenant of the Lord... 10. Of his wisdom nations speak admiringly, and the congregation spreads his praise."

There is no Hebr. for these verses; the Syr. differs considerably in some parts | πλην] Lag. ܨܝܡ; Fritzsche FKE 'gegensätzlich' | τ. ψυχη αυτ.] Lag. adds ܠܫܟ ̈ܚ ̈ܫ (Sm. 'mit Recht') | αρχαιων] several mss. add ανθρωπων | προφητ.] Lag. ܠܬܬ ܡ̈ܥ̈ܬ | ασχολ.] Lag. ܠܥ̈ܕ ܟ̈ܡ | διηγ.] ℵ A διηγησιν Lag. ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܬ; Fritzsche 'Erzählungen'; Ryssel KAP 'Darlegungen'; Box CAP 'discourses' | συντηρ.] Lag. ܠܫ̈ܟ (Sm. 'schlecht,' but Ryssel prefers Syr.); συντηρ. may, as the commentators suggest, = ישר | ανδρ. ονομ.] Lag. ܘ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܡ | στροφ. παραβ.] Lag. ܘ̈ܫ̈ܡ̈ܡ̈; Fritzsche compares Wis. viii, 8. and Prov. i, 3., στροφὰς λόγων; he translates 'künstliche Sprüche'; Edersheim ap. Sm. and Ryssel suggests that Gr. translates מעקשים for מעמיקים; Sm. compares Joh. xii, 22., עמקת; Ryssel 'wenn Sprüche gewechselt werden'; Box 'deep things of parables' | συνεισελευσ.] Lag. ܠܡ̈ܥ̈ܒ; Fritzsche and Sm. suppose בוא; Sm. compares Ps. lxxiii, 17., where, however, בוא may be used literally | αποκρ. παροιμ.] Lag. ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܬ ܘ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ | εκζητ.] Lag. ܠܫ̈ܟ | αινιγ. παραβ.] Lag. ܠܥ̈ܡ̈ܝ̈ ̈ܚ ̈ܫ; Sm. 'vgl. παραβολαὶ αἰνιγματων 47, 15, übrigens חידה 47, 17, Prov. 1, 6.' | vs. 4] Lag. ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ ܠܫ̈ܟ̈ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈, the verbs of the Syr. are in a transposed order, but their subjects suggest the Gr. order; the commentators think the

two halves of the verse transposed | εν γη αλλοτ.] Lag. ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ | παιδ. διδασ.] Lag. ܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ; Fritzsche 'Weisheit, die zur Lehre dient'; Ryssel 'Unterricht seiner Belehrung'; Box 'wise instruction' | νομ. διαθη.] Lag. ܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ | διηγησ.] Van. διηγησονται א A C -εται Lag. ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ | εθνη] B א εθνει; Sm. supposes a mistranslation of עדה. λαοι = עדה, xliv, 15., an identical verse (Hebr. in margin. cf. Str. ad. I.) | vs. 10] Lag. (with different order) ܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ ܠܐ ܫܘܝ̈ܐ ܒܥܡܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ.

That the scribes played a part in the political life of the nation at the beginning of the Maccabean period is shown by the reference in 1 Mac. vii, 12–13., where they seem to be identified, tho Grimm thinks not, with the party of men, probably technically, known as חסידים, Ἀσιδαῖοι. 12. καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν πρὸς Ἄλκιμον καὶ Βακχίδην συναγωγὴ γραμματέων ἐκζητῆσαι δίκαια. 13. πρῶτοι οἱ Ἀσιδαῖοι ἦσαν ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐζήτουν παρὰ αὐτῶν εἰρήνην. "And there was gathered ⟨to meet⟩ Alcimus and Bacchides a group of scribes, to ask for justice. 13. First among the Israelites were the Assideans, and they sought peace from them."

συναγωγη] Geiger, Urschrift p. 124, 'Diese priesterliche Genossenschaft hatte ferner auch den späthebräischen Namen כנסת ... Er ist zunächst synonym mit חבר, das priesterliche Patriarchat, das ist die συναγωγὴ μεγάλη ἱερέων (1 Makk. 14, 28) oder die συναγωγή schlechtweg (das. 3, 44).' συναγωγή here, in 1 Mac. vii, 12., has, I think, no technical meaning. | πρωτοι] A και πρ. | Ασιδαιοι] A -δεοι א* Ασειδαναιοι Lag. ܚܣ̈ܝ̈ܐ, which refers to the antecedent ܥܡܐ in vs. 12.; in 1 Mac. ii, 42. Lag. has ܫܡ̈ܥ̈ܐ, a (printer's?) mistake for ܦ̈ܩ̈ܝ̈ܐ | Grimm FKE 'Der Gedanke ist, aus den eigentlichen Völkern (ausser den γραμματεῖς) hätten sich zuerst die Assidäer mit den Abgeordneten des Königs in freundliches Benehmen zu setzen gesucht.'

Of formal instruction in schools there there is mention, doubtful, it seems to me, in Sir. li, 23. and 28–29., if we read בית מדרשי and ישיבתי with the Hebrew. The former verse may be in praise of Wisdom, in the language of Prov. ix, 4. 16., and the latter two may be part of a doxology ending the book, with no reference to the author intended. 23. ἐγγίσατε πρὸς μὲ ἀπαίδευτοι, καὶ αὐλίσθητε ἐν οἴκῳ παιδείας ... 28. μετάσχετε παιδείας ἐν πολλῷ ἀριθμῷ ἀργυρίου (?), καὶ πολὺν χρύσον κτή-

σασθε ἐν αυτῇ (?). 29. εὐφρανθείη ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνθείητε ἐν αἰνέσει αὐτοῦ. "Draw near to me, you who are untaught, and lodge in the house of learning ... 28. ⟨Seek to⟩ acquire learning with a great sum of money (?), and earn much gold by it (?). 29. May your souls rejoice in his (God's) mercy, and do not be timid in praising him."

απαιδευτοι] Lag. ܥܕܠ Str. סכלים | οικω παιδ.] Lag. ܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܦܣܘܢ ܕܐ Str. בית מדרשי; Sm. 'Gr. Syr. übergehen wohl mit Unrecht das Suffix'; Ryssel KAP 'Im Hause der Bildung v. 14, 24'; Oesterley CAP 'my house of instruction' | παιδειας 2°] Lag. ܐܣܝܦܣܘܢ Str. לשמי | εν πολ. αριθ.] Lag. ܒܝ ܠܟܣܦ (perhaps referring to the author) Str. בנעימותי; Sm. 'Als Urtext ist zu vermuten בכספר ורב נכסף. Gr. verstand בכספר (= wenig in Zahl) nicht und verband die Worte falsch'; Ryssel 'Hört Unterweisung, wenn's auch nur wenig ist'; Oesterley 'Hearken to my teaching (tho ye be but) a few' | κτησ. εν αυτη] Lag. ܩܢ ܠܟ ܐܬܪ Str. תקנו בי | υμων] Str. נפשי | εν τ. ελεει αυτου] Lag. ܒܝܫܝܢܬܝ Str. בישיבתי; Sm. 'Gr. bezog das Wort schlecht auf Gott' | εν αιν. αυτου] Lag. ܒܫܝܪܬܝ Str. בשירתי | vs. 29] Ryssel 'Es freue sich eure Seele über seine Güte, und nicht sollt ihr zu Schanden werden, wenn ihr mich lobt'; Oesterley 'May my soul delight in my Yeshibah, and ye shall not be put to shame in singing my praise.'

There are very few references in the apocrypha to the instruction of the young in the law. A general statement concerning the importance of educating the young, about whom their elders are more concerned than they are about themselves, is found in Aris. § 248. εὐχόμεθα γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν οὐχ οὕτως περὶ ἑαυτῶν ὡς περὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων. Cf. Shabbat 119b. There are however two references in the Testaments to the education of the young in the written law. Test. Reub. iv, 1. ... ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας ἐν φόβῳ κυρίου, καὶ μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις, καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι (?) ἐν γράμμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποιμνίοις ὑμῶν, ἕως ὁ κύριος δώῃ ὑμῖν σύζυγον ἣν αὐτὸς θέλει, ἵνα μὴ πάθητε ὡς κἀγώ. "... but continue with sincerity of heart in the fear of the lord, laboring in tasks and ... (?) in scripture, and with your flocks, until the Lord gives you a mate whom he chooses, in order that you may not suffer as I ⟨did⟩."

αποπλαν.] CT '*on good works and*. So c A. ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς = במעשים ישרים. But the latter was corrupted in the B recension into במעשים ושרים

which was rendered in β S as ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι, a text that is really untranslatable'; Schnapp KAP 'und schweift umher' | On the advice to marry, presumably at an early age, after study and practical labor, cf. Bial. vol. iii lib. v p. 47 ff.

Test. Levi xiii, 2. διδάξατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν γράμματα, ἵνα ἔχωσι σύνεσιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν, ἀναγιγνώσκοντες ἀδιαλείπτως τόν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅτι πᾶς ὃς γνώσεται νόμον θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ξένος ὅπου ὑπάγει. "And teach your children scripture, in order that they may have understanding thruout their lives, reading continually the law of God; for whoever knows the law of God will be honored and will be no stranger wherever he goes."

αναγιγν. αδιαλ.] Charles omits, CT translates it | γραμμ.] CT 'letters'—in Test. Reub., v. supra, he translates, 'study'; Schnapp KAP 'Wissenschaft,' in both places.

Whether or not girls at this time were given instruction in the law can not be determined. Some knowledge of the oral law, concerning the duties assigned to them, they must, of course, have had. In the story of Susanna we are told that her parents instructed her "according to the law of Moses" (the Syriac reads "taught her all the commandments of Moses"). Just how much knowledge of the law this implies it is difficult to decide. Sus. vs. 3. καὶ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῆς δίκαιοι, καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωυσῆ. "And her parents were righteous people, and taught their daughter according to the law of Moses."

εδιδαξ. κτλ.] Lag. ܐܠܦܬܗ ܒܢܡܘܣ ܥܠ ܦܘܡ ܕ (w. ܕܐܡܪ) ܐܘܠܦܗ.

In Soṭah 20 a, in a passage curiously enough dealing with a subject in some respects similar to the subject of Susanna—the merits of a woman who has been obliged to drink the waters given to those suspected of adultery—a controversy between Ben Azzai and Eleazar is reported concerning the obligation of a man to teach his daughter Torah. But rabbinic sources tell us nothing about the higher education of women. The learned Beruriah would be the exception that proves the rule. Orthodox Jewish women of today have little knowledge of the law beyond those

practical rules connected with household duties, and the hygienic measures they are required to observe.

According to the reading of some manuscripts in Est. ch. iv (Sw. vs. 10), Esther had read or heard read the books of scripture, or those parts concerning God's choice of Israel, but nothing is said of any kind of instruction.

4. The Written Law

That a definite canon of scripture existed before the time of Josephus we may assume from the familiar passage, Contra Apionem lib. i § 38–42 (ch. viii), in which twenty-two books of scripture are spoken of. (On the explanations of the discrepancy between Josephus' number and the twenty-four books of the rabbinic arrangement v. Woods HDB vol. iii p. 607 ff.) There are also several passages in the apocrypha which show that in Alexandria and Palestine, in the second century B.C, the scriptures had been arranged in a definite way corresponding with the threefold division made by the rabbis—Torah, Nebiim and Ketubim. Cf. Baba Batra 14 b.

The passage at the beginning of the prolog to Sirach, probably written about 130 B.C, in which a threefold division of the scriptures is indicated, is well known. πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἠκολουθηκότων δεδομένων ... "Many great ⟨teachings⟩ have been given us by the law and the prophets and the other ⟨writers⟩ who followed them ..."

> ηκολουθ.] Fritzsche FKE 'nicht etwa bloss das Folgen der Zeit nach, vielmehr das geistig Folgen'; Ryssel KAP 'die Genannten in der gleichen Bethätigung ... sind natürlich die Verfasser der Hagiographen.'

Smend sees in Sir. xxxix, 1 ff. (v. supra p. 61) a reference to the threefold division of the scriptures, as well as to the oral law. "Das Gesetz und die Weisheits- und Prophetenbücher sind die eine Quelle der Schriftgelehrsamkeit, die andere ist die mündliche Tradition der Gelehrten, von der v. 2. 3 die Rede ist."

We may also assume with I. Lévi, JE vol. xi p. 395, that the eulogy of the great men of Israel, in Sir. ch. xliv–xlix, indicates

that the author knew of a canon of scripture substantially the same as that of the present Hebrew bible. "The Hymn of the Patriarchs which has been preserved in its entirety shows that the canon of the Law and the Prophets was closed, as the author's grandson expressly states. The prophets were arranged in the order generally adopted in the Hebrew Bible ... The greater portion of the Hagiographa was already considered canonical, including the Psalms attributed nominally to David, Proverbs, Job (the Greek translator has made a gross blunder ⟨xlix, 9. εχθρων = איב for איוב⟩) and possibly the Song of Solomon, Nehemiah and Chronicles. The author's silence regarding some of the other Hagiographa proves nothing; since he intended, as has already been said, to eulogize the priesthood in this section, and all who were not included in his scheme were passed over without notice." On the canonicity of the Hagiographa in Sirach's time Smend remarks "Daniel war zu seiner Zeit noch nicht vorhanden, dasselbe gilt aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach für Esther. Ob ihm Ruth, die Klagelieder und das Hohelied als heilige Schriften galten, ist nicht zu erkennen."

In the passage in 2 Mac. ii, 13., 14., on the scriptures which were used by the author as authority for his account of the temple in the time of Solomon, Jeremiah and Nehemiah, we may see a reference to the division of the scriptures, of which the Prophets and Hagiographa are here mentioned, and the Law omitted as something not relevant to the account. ἐξηγοῦντο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Νεεμίαν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡς καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην, ἐπισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ, καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθεμάτων. 14. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας τὰ διαπεπτωκότα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν γεγονότα ἡμῖν ἐπισυνήγαγε πάντα, καὶ ἔστι παρ' ἡμῖν. "⟨These things⟩ are related in the writings, and in the memoirs ⟨written⟩ by Nehemiah, as well as how he founded a library and collected ⟨the books⟩ about the kings and prophets, and those of David, and the letters of kings concerning gifts to the temple. 14. Similarly Judas collected all ⟨the books⟩ which had been scattered during the war waged by us, and these are in our possession."

αναγρ. κ. εν τ. υπομνη.] Lag. ܕܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܚܡܝܐ; Grimm FKE 'Diese Denkwürdigkeiten Nehemia's sind aber von den ἀναγραφαῖς gewiss nicht verschieden, sondern καὶ vor τοῖς steht epexegetisch für und zwar'; so Kamphausen KAP, 'in den Schriften, nämlich den Denkwürdigkeiten' and Moffatt CAP, 'archives or memoirs'; αναγραφαί, however, may refer to earlier O. T. books, e.g. vs. 10 probably refers to Lev. ix, 24 | περι τ. βασ.] several mss. add βιβλια Lag. ܕܡܙܡܪ̈ܐ; Grimm 'vielleicht sogar mit Einschluss der Chronik' | τα του Δαυιδ] Grimm 'die Psalmen, schwerlich Bezeichnung der sämtlichen Hagiographen ... denn wenn auch der Ausdruck ψαλμοί Luc. 24, 24 hiefür gebraucht werden konnte ... so doch wohl kaum die Bezeichnung der Psalmen nach ihrem Verfasser als „Schriften des David"' | επιστ. βασ. κτλ.] Grimm 'völlig abzuweisen ist Movers'... Behauptung, es werde hier die erste Sammlung der Hagiographen berichtet, indem unter τα περι τ. βασιλ. κ. προφ. die Chronik, unter τα του Δαυ. die Psalmen, unter επιστολαι τ. βασ. κτλ. das Buch Ezra zu verstehen sei.' I am, however, inclined to agree with Blau JE vol. iii p. 145, 'Since the Hagiographa had not yet received a definite name, they are mentioned as "those of David" (the Psalms) as the first and most important book—a custom followed in the New Testament ... The expression "letters of the kings concerning holy gifts" seems to refer to the royal letters mentioned in Ezra and Nehemiah, and if this be so, then the Hagiographa do find mention, viz. Psalms and Chronicles, the first and last books.'

Exactly what the number or order of books was in the collection of scriptures known to Philo is not certain. He has little to say of any books other than those of the Pentateuch. According to Ryle, Philo and Holy Scripture p. xxxi, the books to which he makes no reference are Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel. Ezekiel, as we may infer from the reference in Sir. xlix, 8. (v. supra p. 67), was probably found in its present place with Isaiah and Jeremiah (the order of the three varied), but whether Philo passes over these books in silence because he had no occasion to use them, which is perhaps the most probable reason, or because they had not yet been translated into Greek, or because they were not recognized as canonical in Egypt, we do not know for certain.

The five books of the law were in all probability commonly referred to as 'the book of the law' or 'the book of Moses' and sometimes 'the book of the covenant'—that is, as a division of the

scriptures taken as a whole. In Ezra vi, 18. we have ספר משה, in Neh. viii, 1. et al. ספר תורת משה, and the rabbis commonly speak of the ספר תורה, as the orthodox Jews still call the scroll of the law used for liturgical purposes. In Baba Batra 14 b Moses is said to have written " his book," משה כתב ספרו. That the five books were also found separately, particularly for use in instruction, we know from the references in Sopherim iii, 3., Gittin 60 a et al. Josephus, in the passage Contra Apionem lib. i § 38 dealing with the number of sacred books, speaks of the five books of Moses, πέντε μέν ἐστι Μωυσέος. Philo frequently refers to the Pentateuch as ἡ νομοθεσία. Cf. Aris. § 176., 313.

The apocryphal usage is in almost every case the singular—whether the expression is 'the book of Moses' or 'the book of the law.'

Tob. vi, 13. in א. κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν τῆς βίβλου Μωυσέως.

Lag. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܘܫܐ Vet. Lat. *secundum iudicium libri Moysi.*

Tob. vii, 11. in א. καὶ κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν τὴν γεγραμμένην ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωυσέως. cf. vs. 12. ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωυσέως.

44, 106 του βιβλιου M. Lag. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܘܫܐ Neu. כהלכת אוריתא דמשה.

Sir. xxiv, 23. ταῦτα πάντα βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ ὑψίστου, νόμον ὃν ἐνετείλατο Μωυσῆς.

Lag. ܣܦܪܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܢ ܡܘܫܐ.

In 1 Mac. i, 56–57. both βιβλία and βιβλίον are used, but the plural, I think, refers to different copies of the law, each written on one scroll. καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου ἃ εὗρον ἐνεπύρισαν πυρὶ κατασχίσαντες. 57. καὶ ὅπου εὑρίσκετο παρὰ τινὶ βιβλίον διαθήκης, καὶ εἴ τις συνευδόκει τῷ νόμῳ, τὸ σύγκριμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐθανάτου αὐτόν. " And the books of the law which they found they tore up and destroyed by fire. 57. And wherever a book of the covenant was found in anyone's possession, or if anyone obeyed the law, the decree of the king sentenced him to death."

βιβλια τ. νομ.] Lag. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܘܫܐ; Oesterley CAP 'rolls of the Pentateuch' | βιβλιον διαθηκης] Lag. ܣܦܪܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ; Grimm FKE 'ספר הברית, 2 Mos. 24, 7, die Zweitafelgesetze› in 2 Kön. 23, 2, Sir. 24, 2, der Pentateuch.'

1 Mac. iii, 48. καὶ ἐξεπέτασαν τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ νόμου ...

Lag. ...ܘܦܬܚܘ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ...

2 Mac. viii, 23. ... ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον παραναγνῶναι τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον ...

Van. παραγνους; the reading of various mss., παραγνωναι, παραναγνους κτλ. and the Syr. ...ܘܩܪܝ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ support Grimm's restoration of the verse as above, with which Kamphausen KAP and Moffatt CAP agree; Grimm thinks that Eleazar may have read such sections as Deut. xx, 2 ff.

Bar. iv, 1. Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος τῶν προσταγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

On the statement in Aris. § 176, ἡ νομοθεσία γεγραμμένη χρυσογραφίᾳ τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς γράμμασι "the law was written in gold in Hebrew characters," I. Abrahams, JQR vol. xiv p. 340, remarks, "there is some Rabbinic confirmation that the χρυσογραφία ... was associated with the scrolls of the law used in Alexandria. The statement in Aristeas confuses the *whole* ms. with the divine name. The name of God (according to Trac. Sopherim i, 10.) was so written in an Alexandrian codex."

5. Tradition

We do not know how early the laws of the Pentateuch concerning the performance of religious and social duties began to be explained, added to by interpretation and adapted to the practical conditions of life in Palestine or Egypt in post-exilic times; but the discussions of the rabbis of the first century B.C. and the first two Christian centuries, which are reported in the earliest sources, indicate that the oral law, תורה שבעל פה, and the general observance by the 'pious' of the halakic regulations contained in them, go back to a still earlier time. Indeed, according to Jewish tradition, Moses had received the oral law from God on Mt. Sinai. Cf. Abot i, 1., Sifra 115b; there are numerous references in the Mishna to הלכה למשה מסיני; cf. Weiss, Dor Dor vedorshav vol. i p. 1 ff.

From the mention in the apocryphal books of observances which suggest the rabbinic amplifications of biblical law we may

assume that at the time when the particular books were written, regulation by oral law of these practices had already been generally established. Definite references to the teaching of halakah are not to be found in the apocrypha. There are however a few passages which may be interpreted as allusions to traditions concerning the meaning of biblical laws.

In Aris. § 127 Eleazar, the high priest, who has explained to his visitors that he had sent the elders to Egypt for the common good, says τὸ γὰρ καλῶς ζῆν ἐν τῷ νόμιμα συντηρεῖν εἶναι· τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀκροάσεως πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. "For proper living consists in keeping the laws, and this is achieved more by hearing than reading." Just what is meant by ἀκροάσεως, which Wendland KAP translates '[mündliche] Unterhaltung,' it is difficult to say. One is tempted to see in it a reference to the oral law, but the context has no direct bearing on that subject. The elders are being sent to Egypt to translate the written law, not to teach the oral law. But perhaps the author means Eleazar to suggest that the scriptures could be faithfully translated only by those who had a knowledge of tradition. The rabbis use שמועה in the sense of 'tradition'; v. infra p. 72 on Sir. viii, 9. On the Palestinian interpretations reflected in the Septuagint v. Frankel, Über den Einfluß der paläst. Exegese p. 2 ff.

In Sir. ch. xxii, Mss. 106 and 248 have an addition to vs. 23 which reads οὐ γὰρ καταφρονητέον ἀεὶ τῆς περιγραφῆς, οὐδὲ θαυμαστὸς πλούσιος νοῦν οὐκ ἔχων. "One should never despise ⟨a poor man⟩ because of his appearance, nor is a rich man without sense to be admired." Tho περιγραφή may not mean 'beschränkte Lage' as Fritzsche FKE translates it, the context makes it clear that in its meaning of 'outward appearance' (Ryssel KAP translates, 'das Äusserliche') it forms a contrast to the picture of the rich man in the second half of the verse, and the whole is in keeping with the subject of the chapter, which is prudence in matters of friendship. Hart, p. 293 ff., regards the verse as another of the additions of the "Pharisaic recension," and takes περιγραφή to be a corruption or a "malicious parody"

of περιφραγὴ τῆς γραφῆς, 'a fence to the law' or Masorah, which as Jerome (ap. Hart) remarks, is the Hebrew corresponding to περιφραγή. If the verse is really directed against the Sadducees, as Hart maintains, it is difficult to see why the Pharisaic interpolator is so subtle in his reproof, or why, if he keeps the "malicious" περιγραφή, which ought, according to Hart, to mean 'destruction' (not its most common meaning; v. Liddell and Scott), he should also keep καταφρονητέον. Hart's argument seems to me slightly fantastic. And, incidentally, in the note on the translation of מסרה in Jerome, it should be noted that the Greek is περίφραγμα, not περιφραγή.

Whether in the description of the ideal scribe in Sir. xxxix, 1–3. (v. supra p. 61) we are to see an allusion to tradition is not certain. Smend thinks vs. 2. and 3. refer to a "mündliche Tradition der Gelehrten." Box CAP, who believes the book to be of Sadducean origin, also thinks the verses refer to oral tradition, "but the descriptive terms employed do not suggest that it was legalistic or halakic in character, but rather of the type embodied in the Wisdom literature..."

Sir. viii, 8–9. clearly refer to tradition, but not necessarily of a legal nature. μὴ παρίδῃς διήγημα σοφῶν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς παροιμίαις αὐτῶν ἀναστρέφου, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῶν μαθήσῃ παιδείαν, καὶ λειτουργῆσαι μεγιστᾶσιν. 9. μὴ ἀστόχει διηγήματος γερόντων, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἔμαθον παρὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῶν μαθήσῃ σύνεσιν, καὶ ἐν καιρῷ χρείας δοῦναι ἀπόκρισιν. "Do not neglect the sayings of wise men, and with their proverbs busy yourself, for from them you will get instruction and ⟨learn how⟩ to be of service to rulers. 9. Do not disregard the sayings of old men, for they themselves learned them from their fathers, and from them you will get understanding, and at a time when it is necessary be able to answer questions."

παροιμ.] Lag. ܡܬܠܐ Str. חידותיהם; Sm. 'Der Lehrer heisst חכם, seine Lehre ist kluge Lebensregel, hier חידה genannt. Uebrigens ging der Unterricht noch v. 9 auf die väterliche Religion und das Gesetz' | αναστρ.] Lag. ܢܬܦ ܒܡܬܠܐ Str. התרגש (?); Sm. '... darf man nach dem aram. רגש = נגש vielleicht die Bedeutung „umherschweifen" und weiter „sich in einer Sache umtun" vermuten?' | μαθ. παιδ.] א, 157, 307 σοφιαν Lag. ܡܚܟܡܢ

Str. תלמד לקח (perhaps we should read תקח תלמד or לְמַד) | λειτουρ.] Lag. ܣܟ ܣܟܣܥ ܘܣܟܢ Str. להתיצב לפני; Gr. is perhaps free, as Sm. suggests | μεγιστ.] Lag. ܡܟܡܢ Str. שרים; 23 adds νευμα 106, 248 add ευμορως | διηγ. γερ.] Lag. ܘܫܨܢ ܡܨܟܡܢ Str. שמיעת שבים (Sm. 'ist nach 5, 11 Cod. C in שמועת zu ändern'); Ryssel KAP 'die Erzählung der Greise'; Oesterley CAP 'tradition,' note, 'the reference is to the oral tradition technically known as תורה שבעל פה' | συνεσιν] Lag. ܡܟܟܒܢ Str. שכל | εν καιρω χρειας] Lag. ܣܩܨܢ ܘܣܓܨܟ Str. בעת צרך.

In the Hebrew of Sir. xliv, 4. Smend and Box CAP find a reference to the learning of the scribes, ספרתם, and to tradition, משמרת. The meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain, the Greek text is corrupt and does not correspond, and the Syriac differs from both.

Philo speaks of tradition, under which he probably includes both haggadah and halakah, in several places. Rit. p. 14 cites De Special. Legibus lib. i § 8 (M. II p. 211), De Vita Mosis lib. i § 4 (M. II p. 81) and De Special. Legibus lib. iv § 149 (M. II p. 361). The latter passage reads Ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο προσδιατέτακται κοινωφελὲς παράγγελμα, μὴ μετακινεῖν ὅρια τοῦ πλησίον ἃ ἔστησαν οἱ πρότεροί σου (Deut. xix, 14.). τοῦτο δ' ὡς ἔοικεν οὐ περὶ κλήρων αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ γῆς ὅρων νομοθετεῖται πρὸς πλεονεξίας ἀποκοπήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν. ἔθη γὰρ ἄγραφοι νόμοι, δόγματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ στήλαις ἐκκεχαραγμένα καὶ χαρτιδίοις ὑπὸ σητῶν ἀναλισκομένοις, ἀλλα ψυχαῖς τῶν μετειληφότων τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας. Οφείλουσι γὰρ παῖδες παρὰ γονέων ⟨διχα⟩ τῶν οὐσιῶν κληρονομεῖν ἔθη πάτρια οἷς ἐνετράφησαν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σπαργάνων συνεβίωσαν, καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν παρόσον ἄγραφος αὐτῶν ἡ παράδοσις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀναγραφεῖσι νόμοις πειθαρχῶν οὐκ ἂν δεόντως ἐπαινοῖτο, νουθετούμενος ἀνάγκῃ καὶ φόβῳ κολάσεως. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἀγράφοις ἐμμένων, ἑκούσιον ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν αρετήν, ἐγκωμίου ἄξιος. "The following useful counsel is also given as a commandment, 'Do not move the boundaries of your neighbor which those ⟨who lived⟩ before you have fixed.' This law, I believe, concerns not only the possession and boundaries of land, the ⟨unjust⟩ appropriation of which thru greed ⟨it is meant to prevent⟩, but also the preservation of

ancient customs. Now customs are unwritten laws, ordinances of men of old, not engraved on pillars or ⟨written⟩ on papyrus, which is destroyed by moths, but ⟨fixed⟩ in the minds of those who live under the same form of government. Children ought therefore to inherit from their parents not only possessions, but also ancestral customs, in which they are brought up and by which they live from infancy, and they should not disregard them simply because the tradition is unwritten. A man who obeys the written laws is not particularly deserving of praise, because he is ruled by necessity and fear of punishment, but he who abides by the unwritten laws and lives a good life of his own volition is worthy of all praise."

αρχ. εθων] Rit. ' vgl. eine ähnliche höchst merkwürdige Auslegung dieser Stelle Schabbath 85a.' Rabbi Joḥanan is there quoted as explaining the verse in Deut. to mean גבלו ראשונים, which is generally taken as a reference to tradition; the rest of the passage deals with the literal application to land. In Sifre 109a where some of the rabbis give a literal interpretation, a midrashic explanation also applies the verse to the accurate reporting of the traditions attributed to certain Tannaim | ο δε το. αγραφ. κτλ.] Rit. ' vgl. hierzu Jerus. Talmud Sanhedrin 30a דברי סופרים חביבים מדברי תורה.'

III. CEREMONIAL AND RELIGIOUS LAW

1. The Sabbath

Whatever the origin of the Jewish sabbath may have been, it is clear that by the time the Pentateuch was edited, it had become an important social and religious institution. In the laws of JE, Ex. xxiii, 12., xxxiv, Deut. v, 14. et al., a humanitarian motive is found. The day is to be observed in order that servants and beasts may have rest. The priestly document emphasizes the holiness of the day and its religious character by associating it with the resting of God from the labor of creation, Gen. ii, 3., Ex. xx, 8. In these sources various kinds of work, such as kindling fire, baking, plowing and the like, are specifically forbidden, and from such passages as Jer. xvii, 19–27. and Neh. x, 32., xiii, 15–22. we get some idea of what activities were prohibited on the sabbath in post-exilic times. On the basis of these prohibitions it is easy to see how, by means of the usual methods of interpretation, the rabbis determined a list of definite kinds of work which were not to be done on the day of rest, which was also a day of religious gathering with special sacrifices, for which, after the destruction of the temple, special prayers were substituted. The number of thirty nine אבות מלאכות (cf. Shabbat vii, 2) is based on the account of the construction of the tabernacle in the wilderness, Ex. xxxv, 2–3., to which a general prohibition of all 'work,' מלאכה, is prefixed. (For a full account of the biblical laws relating to the sabbath v. Driver HDB vol. iv p. 317 ff.)

With the exception of one passage in Judith, the only allusions to the sabbath in the apocryphal books are those in the two books of the Maccabees, which are concerned only with the matter of

making war. We obtain no information from the apocrypha to enable us to determine just how much is new in the tannaic regulation of the kinds of work permitted and forbidden on that day.

Jud. viii, 6., in the chapter introducing Judith, describes her piety in the days of her widowhood. καὶ ἐνήστευε πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας χηρεύσεως αὐτῆς χωρὶς προσαββάτων καὶ σαββάτων καὶ προνουμηνιῶν καὶ νουμηνιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν καὶ χαρμοσυνῶν οἴκου Ἰσραήλ. "And she used to fast all the days of her widowhood except on the eve of the sabbath and on the sabbath and on the eve of the New Moon and on the New Moon and on festivals and on days of rejoicing in the house of Israel."

προσαβ.] 58, Lag. omit | προνουμ.] 58, Lag. omit | χαρμοσ.] 58 adds και μνημοσυνων Lag. adds ܒܝܘܡ̈ܐ ܛܒ̈ܐ.

Tho in rabbinic teaching the eating of three hearty meals on the sabbath was generally prescribed, because the day was regarded as a day of rejoicing, as in even earlier times (cf. Isa. lviii, 13.), it is not likely that there was any absolute prohibition of fasting, especially under certain circumstances. Cf. Shabbat 11 a. On Jubilees i, 12., in which fasting on the sabbath, together with slaughtering animals and making war, is prohibited under penalty of death, Finkelstein, p. 50, remarks, "It is, however, noteworthy that it would be against Jewish tradition to execute a person for a transgression like fasting, which involves no action... It is therefore reasonable to assume that our author is here inserting what he thinks should be the law, rather than what he knows to be the general opinion." The passage in Judith is further interesting as an indication that at the time when the book was written, the eve of the sabbath and of the New Moon was considered as the beginning of the day of observance. V. infra on 2 Mac. viii, 26., p. 79.

In the two books of the Maccabees the sabbath is represented as a peculiarly sacred institution. Only extreme necessity could make the Jews decide to fight on that day, and the author of 1 Maccabees has no criticism to make of the Jewish leaders for violating the sabbath in self-defence (1 Mac. ii, 41.). The author of 2 Maccabees, who does not give an account of the earlier phase

of the war when Mattathias was leader, and the Jews were obliged to defend themselves on the sabbath, relates that in every instance the Jews refrained from making war offensively on that day, and even from defending themselves (2 Mac. vi, 11.).

1 Mac. i, 37 ff. describes, in phrases borrowed from the scriptures, conditions during the Syrian occupation of Jerusalem. 39. τὸ ἁγίασμα αὐτῆς ἠρημώθη ὡς ἔρημος, αἱ ἑορταὶ αὐτῆς ἐστράφησαν εἰς πένθος, τὰ σάββατα αὐτῆς εἰς ὀνειδισμόν, ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῆς εἰς ἐξουδένωσιν. "Its sanctuary was made desolate like a wilderness, its festivals were turned into ⟨days of⟩ mourning, its sabbaths ⟨were made⟩ a reproach, its glory an object of contempt."

αι εορται κτλ.] cf. Amos viii, 10. | η τιμη] 55 omits Lag. ܘܐܡܬܝܬ ܚܝ ܚܝ; εξουδ. in LXX = נז.

In 1 Mac. ii, 34 ff. we are told how Mattathias and his men decide, after learning of the massacre of those Jews who would not profane the sabbath, to defend themselves in their extreme need. The unfortunate victims had done nothing to save themselves. καὶ εἶπον οὐκ ἐξελευσόμεθα οὐδὲ ποιήσομεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ βεβηλῶσαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν σαββάτων. 35. καὶ ἐτάχυναν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πόλεμον. 36. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ λίθον ἐνετίναξαν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ ἐνέφραξαν τοὺς κρύφους. 37. λέγοντες, ἀποθανῶμεν πάντες ἐν τῇ ἁπλότητι ἡμῶν· μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ ὅτι ἀκρίτως ἀπόλλυτε ἡμᾶς. 38. καὶ ἀνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοῖς σάββασι, καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτοὶ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν... 39. καὶ ἔγνω Ματταθίας καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ... 41. καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ λέγοντες, πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἐὰν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων, πολεμήσωμεν κατέναντι αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθανῶμεν πάντες καθὼς ἀπέθανον οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς κρύφοις. "And they said, we will not come out or obey the command of the king to profane the sabbath day. 35. And ⟨the enemy⟩ immediately attacked them. 36. But they (the Jews) did not oppose them or cast a stone at them or block up ⟨the entrances to⟩ their hiding-places. 37. And they said, let us all die

in our righteousness. Heaven and earth testify in our behalf that you are wrongfully destroying us. 38. Then they (the Syrians) fell upon them in battle on the sabbath, and they (the Jews) were killed and also their wives and children ... 39. And Mattathias and his friends learned of this ... 41. And they deliberated on that day and decided, whenever anyone comes against us to fight on the sabbath day, let us fight against him, and not all be killed as our brothers were killed in their hiding-places."

του βεβηλ. κτλ.] Lag. ܕܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܒܢܝܗܘܢ ; Grimm FKE 'Mich. mit Recht vermuthet, es habe im Hebr. gestanden נחלל יום השבת ..., was durch ουδε βεβηλωσομεν τ. ημ. τ. σαββ. hätte übersetzt werden müssen'; Oesterley CAP 'coming forth with their belongings would in itself have constituted a breaking of the sabbath'; I think, however, that του βεβηλ. depends on ποιησ. λογον βασ., i.e., obeying the king's order involved a violation of the sabbath | απλοτ.] Grimm 'Hebr. תם ... Unschuld'; so Kautzsch KAP; Oesterley 'innocence' | πολεμησωμεν] V πολεμησομεν.

In Jubilees 1, 12. making war on the sabbath is forbidden under penalty of death. How such a penalty could be carried out, it is difficult to see. Finkelstein, p. 51, thinks the author had this Maccabean fight or a similar occurrence in mind. "Making war on the sabbath certainly involves the transgression of many sabbath laws, but to make it a category by itself is peculiar. ⟨In the same verse the slaughtering of animals and fasting are also forbidden.⟩ The insertion can be understood only in view of the leniency in this regard introduced by the Maccabeans. Our author is simply protesting against the new usage and is urging a return to the pre-Maccabean halaka."

The author of 2 Maccabees emphasizes the holiness and solemnity of the sabbath in most of his allusions to it. (V. supra p. 77.)

2 Mac. v, 25 ff.—on the treachery of Apollonius, the commander of the Syrians whom Antiochus had sent to Jerusalem. οὗτος δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν εἰρηνικὸν ὑποκριθείς, ἐπέσχεν ἕως τῆς ἁγίας ἡμέρας τοῦ σαββάτου, καὶ λαβὼν ἀργοῦντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξοπλησίαν παρήγγειλε. 26. καὶ τοὺς ἐξελθόντας πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν συνεξεκέντησε, καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰσδραμὼν ἱκανὰ κατέστρωσε πλήθη. "This fellow came to

Jerusalem and pretending to mean peace, waited until the sacred day of the sabbath; then, finding the Jews at rest, he ordered his men to arm. 26. And all those who came out to see ⟨what was happening⟩ he had stabbed together, and running into the city with his armed men, he massacred great numbers."

> αγιας ημ.] 106 ημ. τ. αγιου Lag. ܝܘܡܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ | θεωριαν] V θεαν Lag. ܠܡܚܙܝ; Grimm FKE '... da wir mit den meisten Auslegern θεωρίαν nach classischem Gedanken ... vom Gottesdienst im Tempel verstehen'; Kamphausen KAP translates, 'Schauspiele'—a curious thing for pious Jews to attend, and there is no reason for referring to the Hellenising Jews; Moffatt CAP rightly, I believe, 'who came to see what was going on.'

2 Mac. vi, 11.—on the persecution of the Jews by order of Philip, the Syrian commander in Jerusalem. ἕτεροι δὲ πλησίον συνδραμόντες εἰς τὰ σπήλαια, λεληθότως ἄγειν τὴν ἑβδομάδα, μηνυθέντες τῷ Φιλλίπῳ συνεφλογίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ εὐλαβῶς ἔχειν βοηθῆσαι ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς σεμνοτάτης ἡμέρας. "But others, who had hurried to the caves nearby to observe the sabbath secretly, were betrayed to Philip and burnt together, because they were afraid ⟨to do anything⟩ to help themselves, out of reverence for the most solemn day."

> τ. σεμν. ημερας] Lag. ܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ.

In 2 Mac. viii, 25–28. the victorious Jews are said to have given up the pursuit of the routed army of Nicanor, because of the approach of the sabbath, for which they had to prepare, and to have waited until after the sabbath to divide the spoils which they had taken. συνδιώξαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἱκανόν, ἀνέλυσαν ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας συγκλειόμενοι. 26. ἦν γὰρ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐμακροθύμησαν κατατρέχοντες αὐτούς. 27. ὁπλολογήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὰ σκῦλα ἐκδύσαντες τῶν πολεμίων, περὶ τὸ σάββατον ἐγίνοντο, περισσῶς εὐλογοῦντες καὶ ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ διασώσαντι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἀρχὴν ἐλέους τάξαντος αὐτοῖς. 28. μετὰ δὲ τὸ σάββατον τοῖς ἠκισμένοις καὶ ταῖς χήραις καὶ ὀρφανοῖς μερίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν σκύλων, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἐμερίσαντο. "They pursued them (the Syrians) for a considerable distance, but turned back as they were obliged ⟨to stop⟩ by the

⟨lateness of the⟩ hour. 26. For it was the ⟨day⟩ before the sabbath, and for that reason they did not continue to run them down. 27. But they collected their weapons and stripped the enemy of their arms, and celebrated the sabbath, giving great praise and thanks to the Lord, who had kept them safe until that day, which he had appointed for them as a first sign of his mercy. 28. And after the sabbath they gave a portion of the spoils to those who had been wounded and to the widows and orphans, and the rest they and their children divided among themselves."

> σαββατου 1°] δικη after σαβ. in 106, Alex. is obviously a corruption of δι ην | περι τ. σαβ. ... εγιν.] Lag. ܗܘܬ ; Kamphausen KAP 'feierten den Sabbat'; Moffatt CAP 'attended to the duties of the s.' περιγιγν. usually means 'attend to,' and may here mean 'they made preparations for the sabbath,' i.e. on the day before | αρχην ελεους κτλ.] Lag. ܥܒܕ ; Kamphausen and Moffatt translate as Syr. does, but I think αρχην is in virtual apposition with ημεραν, and refers to the giving of the sabbath, not to the preservation of the Jews.

2 Mac. xii, 38. Ἰούδας δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἦγεν εἰς Ὀδολλὰμ πόλιν. τῆς δὲ ἑβδομάδας ἐπιβαλλούσης, κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμὸν ἁγνισθέντες, αὐτόθι τὸ σάββατον διήγαγον. "Judas took his army to the town of Adullam, and as the sabbath was coming on they purified themselves in accordance with their custom, and celebrated the sabbath there."

> εθισμον] 93 αγνισμον Lag. ; the purification was necessary after the shedding of blood. In Num. xxxi, 19. seven days of purification after battle are commanded.

In 2 Mac. xv, 1 ff. Nicanor is reported to have refused the request of the Jews who were forced by him to accompany his army, not to attack their fellow Jews on the sabbath. The author tells us that Nicanor did not succeed in accomplishing his nefarious purpose, but he does not tell us whether the Jews were actually attacked or whether they fought back. Perhaps his silence is to be explained, with Moffatt CAP, by his unwillingness to admit that the Maccabeans were not too pious to fight on the sabbath. ὁ δὲ Νικάνορ μεταλαβὼν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ὄντας ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σαμάρειαν τόποις, ἐβουλεύσατο τῇ τῆς καταπαύσεως ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας αὐτοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν. 2. τῶν δὲ

κατ' ἀνάγκην συνεπομένων αὐτῷ Ἰουδαίων λεγόντων, μηδαμῶς οὕτως ἀγρίως καὶ βαρβάρως ἀπολέσῃς, δόξαν δὲ ἀπομέρισον τῇ προτετιμημένῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος μεθ' ἁγιότητος ἡμέρᾳ, 3. ὁ δὲ τρισαλιτήριος ἐπηρώτησεν, εἰ ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανῷ δυνάστης ὁ προστεταχὼς ἄγειν τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν; 4. τῶν δὲ ἀποφηναμένων, ἔστιν ὁ κύριος ζῶν αὐτὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ δυνάστης, ὁ κελεύσας ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἑβδομάδα, 5. ὁ δὲ ἕτερος κἀγώ, φησι, δυνάστης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὁ προστάσσων αἴρειν ὅπλα καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς χρείας ἐπιτελεῖν. ὅμως οὐ κατέσχεν ἐπιτελέσαι τὸ σχέτλιον αὐτοῦ βούλημα. "When Nicanor learned that Judas and his men were in the neighborhood of Samaria, he decided to attack them on the day of rest, when it would be altogether safe ⟨for him⟩. 2. And when the Jews who had been forced to accompany him said, Do not destroy ⟨them⟩ in this savage and barbarous way, but have reverence for the day which has been distinguished with ⟨the character of⟩ sacredness by the All-Seeing. 3. The thrice accursed fellow asked if there were a ruler in heaven who had commanded that the sabbath day should be observed. 4. And when they explained that it was the living Lord himself ⟨who was⟩ ruler in heaven and who had commanded that the sabbath should be kept, 5. he said, And I am the other ruler on earth, and I command ⟨my men⟩ to take arms and carry out the royal decrees. He was not, however, able to accomplish his nefarious purpose."

τ. καταπαυ. ημ.] Lag. ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܕܡܬܝ | δοξαν δε απομερ. κελ.] Lag. ܘܠܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܕܡܬܝ ܕܫܪܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܘܥܒܝܕ ܟܠ ܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܘܠܐ.

Treitel, who has made a study of Philo's special work on the sabbath, the De Septenario, and of the other passages relating to it in Philo's writings, finds that there is very little that is specifically halakic. The chief passages that deal with the halakah are De Migratione Abr. § 91 (M. I p. 450), De Septenario = De Special. Legibus lib. ii § 65 (M. II p. 283 ff.) and the parallel passage, De Vita Mosis lib. ii § 219 (M. II p. 168). In De Migratione Abr. Philo enumerates some of the things prohibited on the sabbath, ὡς πῦρ ἐναύειν ἢ γεωπονεῖν ἢ ἀχθοφορεῖν ἢ ἐγκαλεῖν ἢ δικάζειν ἢ παρακαταθήκας ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ δάνεια ἀναπράττειν

ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ποεῖν· ὅσα κἂν τοῖς μὴ ἑορτώδεσι καιροῖς ἐφεῖται. "... such as lighting a fire or doing agricultural work or carrying a burden or bringing a charge in court or sitting in judgment or asking back property ⟨left for safe-keeping⟩ or collecting debts or doing any of the other things which are allowed on the days which are not holy." Treitel thinks that this passage shows Philo's dependence upon Palestinian halakah. "Man erkennt unschwer den nur von palästinensischen Gesetzeslehrern, soviel wir wissen, aufgestellten Satz מקח וממכר בשבת אסור in den zuletzt aufgezählten Tätigkeiten wieder, die für den Sabbat verboten sein sollten." Treitel probably means that it was only the Palestinian halakah that included under the category of buying and selling, such things as Philo mentions in this passage, i.e., collecting debts and asking back property. But a specific prohibition of buying and selling might have been based by both Alexandrian and Palestinian teachers on the verses in Nehemiah, x, 32. and xiii, 15–16. where buying and selling on the sabbath are condemned, unless we suppose that at this time non-Pentateuchal verses were not used as halakah.

In De Special. Legibus lib. ii § 65 and the parallel passage, De Vita Mosis lib. ii § 219 Philo departs from the Palestinian interpretation, in bringing the transgression of the sabbath law involved in gathering sticks (Num. xv, 32.) under the general class of transgressions involved in lighting a fire, since without fire no important work can be done. Whatever there is new in Philo's interpretation and in that of the Alexandrians generally, Treitel believes to be due to a desire to find a rational basis for religious law. Treitel also calls attention to the universalism of Philo's idea of the sabbath as it is found in such a passage as De Vita Mosis lib. ii § 20 ff. (M. II p. 137), ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡδ' ἔχει τὰ ἡμέτερα (scil. νόμιμα)· πάντας γὰρ ἐπάγεται καὶ συνεπιστρέφει, βαρβάρους, Ἕλληνας ... τίς γὰρ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην ἑβδόμην οὐκ ἐκτετίμηκεν ..., with the rabbinic "particularism" illustrated by such a passage as that in Sanhedrin 58 b אמר ר״ל עכו״ם ששבת חייב מיתה; cf. Treit. p. 21. For a discussion of Philo's social and ethical ideas of the sabbath v. Treit. pp. 25–32.

We may, finally, notice an interesting passage in which Philo describes the religious gatherings on the sabbath, Quod Omnis Prob. § 81 ff. (M. II p. 458). τούτους ἀναδιδάσκονται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑβδόμαις διαφερόντως· ἱερὰ γὰρ ἡ ἑβδόμη νενόμισται, καθ' ἣν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέχοντες ἔργων, εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἱ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί, καθ' ἡλικίας ἐν τάξεσιν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέροις νεοὶ καθέζονται, μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος ἔχοντες ἀκροατικῶς, εἶθ' εἷς μέν τις τὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκει λαβών, ἕτερος δὲ τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα παρελθὼν ἀναδιδάσκει. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται ..." these (the ancestral laws) they are taught at all times and particularly on the sabbath. Now the sabbath day is considered holy and on that day they rest from work, and gather in holy places which are called synagogues; here they are seated in order according to age, with the young under their elders, prepared to listen with due reverence. Then one man takes up the scriptures and reads, and another man, who is one of the most learned, stands beside him and explains the difficult passages. For ⟨the scriptures⟩ are mostly studied among them by the allegorical method with a diligence that they have from their fathers ..." Cf. De Vita Mosis lib. ii § 211 (M. II p. 167).

2. Festivals

Beside the sabbath and the New Moon, which were primarily days of religious celebration, the most important festivals described in the earliest sources of the Old Testament are the so-called historical festivals, the three חגים or רגלים, 'pilgrimages,' on which the Jews were commanded to appear before the Lord with offerings (Ex. xxiii, 14. 17., xxxiv, 23., Deut. xvi, 16.). These were the Festival of Unleavened Bread, חג המצות, ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων, which was, probably at an early time, associated with the Passover, פסח, πάσχα (Ex. xii, xiii)—Philo distinguishes between the two, v. Treit. p. 39; Josephus in Ant. iii § 249 speaks of the festival of Unleavened Bread as following the Passover, but in Ant. xiv § 21 and in Ant. xviii § 29 he makes the two identical—; the Festival of

Weeks, חג שבועות, ἑορτὴ ἑβδομάδων (also called, in the Old Testament, the Festival of Harvest or First Fruits), or, in Hellenistic Greek, πεντηκοστή; and finally the Festival of Booths, חג הסכות, ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν, or σκηνοπηγία.

For these three festivals special sacrifices and observances are commanded in the Pentateuch, and when sacrifices were discontinued after the first century A.D., special liturgical readings and religious observances were substituted for them. That these festivals were considered of great importance in the Greek period we learn from the references to them in the apocryphal books.

We have already seen (v. supra p. 58) that the author of 2 Maccabees, vi. 4–6., mentions the festivals with the sabbath as religious institutions which the Syrians attempted to destroy, and from the fact that these alone are mentioned, and from the way in which the author writes, we may fairly assume that they were regarded with particular veneration.

The author of Sirach in an interesting passage compares the difference between one man and another with the difference between the holy days and the other days of the year; tho all the days have a common natural origin, God in his wisdom has distinguished and sanctified certain ones, and so, the author continues, tho all men are made of the same earth, God has distinguished some from the others, to bless or to curse. Smend believes this passage was written for the benefit of the Hellenising Jews. "Die Ausführung richtet sich gegen die Hellenisten, die die Auserwählung Israel's bestreiten." Sir. xxxvi, 7–9. διατί ἡμέρα ἡμέρας ὑπερέχει, καὶ πᾶν φῶς ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀφ' ἡλίου. 8. ἐν γνώσει κυρίου διεχωρίσθησαν, καὶ ἀλλοίωσε καιροὺς καὶ ἑορτάς. 9. ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνύψωσε καὶ ἡγίασε, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔθηκεν εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἡμερῶν. "Why is one day more excellent than another, altho the light of every day of the year is from the sun? 8. By the wisdom of the Lord they were distinguished, and he made a difference of seasons and festivals. 9. Some of them (the days) he exalted and sanctified, and others he counted in the number of ⟨ordinary⟩ days."

- There is no Hebrew | υπερεχει] Lag. ‏מְפִיק‏ | κ. παν φως ... ηλιου] Lag. ‏וְכֻלְּהוֹן מְפִיקִין נְהוֹרָא כְּחַמָּה‏ (probably reading ‏וְיַעֲבֵד‏ for ‏וְעָבֵד‏); the Gr. is preferable; Sm. 'Mit „die Tage" hat er ⟨Syr.⟩ recht' | καιρ. κ. εορτ.] Lag. ‏סִדְנָן וְיוֹמִין‏; Sm. 'Es stand ‏עתים ומועדים'.

With this analogy of differences in men and nature Smend compares the passage in Sanhedrin 65 b (cf. M. Tan. Shemot 46 a on Ex. xxv) which reads ואף שאלה זו שאל טורנוסרופוס את ר״ע אמר לו ומה יום מיומים אמר לו ומה גבר מגוברין א״ל דמרי צבי שבת נמי דמרי צבי. " Turnus Rufus also asked Rabbi Akiba this question, Why is one day different from others? Akiba asked in turn, Why is one man different from others? Turnus said, Because the Lord wills it so. Akiba answered, So also in the case of the sabbath, the Lord wills it so."

We have already cited (v. supra p. 76) Jud. viii, 6. on the days when Judith gave up her fast during her widowhood. καὶ ἐνήστευε πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας χηρεύσεως αὐτῆς χωρὶς προσαββάτων καὶ σαββάτων καὶ προνουμηνιῶν καὶ νουμηνιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν καὶ χαρμοσυνῶν οἴκου Ἰσραήλ. "And she used to fast all the days of her widowhood except on the eve of the sabbath and on the sabbath and on the eve of the New Moon and on the New Moon and on festivals and on days of rejoicing in the house of Israel."

χαρμ.] 58 adds και μνημοσυνων Lag. adds ‏וּמִשְׁתֵּה‏; Fritzsche FKE 'Mit ἑορταί sind die anderen stehenden Freudenfeste gemeint, mit χαρμοσύναι sonstige ausserordentliche Freudentage'; Scholz 'ἑορται Tob. 2, 1. sind die übrigen Feste, die als Freudentage gelten, Hos. 9. 4, 5, wie χαρμοσυναι ..., bestätigt'; Cowley CAP 'we should expect a word answering to ‏מועדים‏, the general term for festivals, since εορται are ‏חגים‏, the three great festivals'; εορτη in LXX translates both ‏חג‏ and ‏מועד‏.

In 1 Mac. i, 39. (v. supra p. 77) the desecration of the holy days by the Syrians in Jerusalem is described in the words of Amos viii, 10. αἱ ἑορταὶ αὐτῆς ἐστράφησαν εἰς πένθος. "... its festivals were turned into ⟨days of⟩ mourning."

According to 1 Mac. x, 34–35. the Syrian king Demetrius, who was anxious to outbid his rival, Alexander, for the favor of the Jews, wrote a letter to them promising, among other things, not to allow any tribute to be exacted from them or anything to be

done on the festivals, which might be a burden to them. καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἑορταὶ καὶ τὰ σάββατα καὶ νουμηνίαι καὶ ἡμέραι ἀποδεδειγμέναι καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραι πρὸ ἑορτῆς καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραι μετὰ ἑορτὴν ἔστωσαν πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι ἀτελείας καὶ ἀφέσεως πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου. 35. καὶ οὐχ ἕξει ἐξουσίαν οὐδεὶς πράσσειν καὶ παρενοχλεῖν τινὰ αὐτῶν περὶ παντὸς πράγματος. "And all the festivals and the sabbaths and the New Moons and recognized ⟨holy⟩ days and three days before a festival and three days after a festival, all ⟨these⟩ shall be days of immunity from payment of taxes and debts, to all the Jews who are in my kingdom. 35. And no one shall have authority to do business of any kind with any of them or to trouble any of them about any matter."

πασ. αι εορτ.] Grimm FKE 'wohl vorzugsweise die drei grossen Feste' | ημ. αποδεδειγ.] Lag. ‏מפסלא אמרמא‏; Grimm 'und überhaupt festgesetzte — nicht die vom Volke eingesetzten, wie Purim ....'; Oesterley CAP 'appointed days' | τρεις ημ. 1°] 41 εξ ημ., Syr. ω omits | πασαι ημ.] Van. and mss. πασ. αι ημ.; Grimm 'Zweck dieser wahrscheinlich nur auf die drei Hauptfeste sich beziehenden Bestimmung ist die Erleichterung der Reise nach Jerusalem und der Rückkehr von da' | περι παν. πραγ.] Grimm 'wegen irgend eines Rechtshandels.'

The only reference in the apocrypha to the pilgrimages to Jerusalem made on the occasion of the three great festivals is Tob. i, 6., where there is a difference of reading between the two Greek recensions, B and ℵ, as to the exact kinds of offerings which Tobit brought; v. infra p. 109. The Aramaic here agrees more closely with B which reads κἀγὼ μόνος ἐπορευόμην πλεονάκις εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καθὼς γέγραπται παντὶ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν προστάγματι αἰωνίῳ, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ... ἔχων. "And I regularly went up alone to Jerusalem on the festivals, as it is prescribed for all Israel by an eternal commandment, with the terumah &c."

μονος] ℵ μονωτατος Neu. ‏בלחודי‏ | πλεον.] ℵ πολλακις Neu. omits | εν τ. εορτ.] Neu. ‏בזמני מועדא‏ | γεγραπτ. κτλ.] Neu. ‏כתה כתוב בספר אורייתא דמשה‏, i.e. Ex. xxiii, 17., Deut. xvi, 16.

In Tob. ii, 1–3. Tobit is said to celebrate the Festival of Weeks at his home, on his return from Jerusalem, according to the Greek

and Syriac; the Aramaic does not mention his return home, but simply says, " when the Festival of Weeks came ..." On this occasion Tobit followed the humanitarian provisions made in Deut. xvi, 16., to invite the needy (tho nothing is said about his inviting the 'stranger'). ὅτε δὲ κατῆλθον εἰς τὸν οἶκον μου, καὶ ἀπεδόθη μοι Ἄννα ἡ γυνή μου καὶ Τωβίας ὁ υἱός μου, ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ ἑορτῇ ἥ ἐστι ἁγία ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων, ἐγενήθη ἄριστον καλόν μοι... 2. καὶ εἶπα τῷ υἱῷ μου, βάδισον καὶ ἄγαγε ὃν ἂν εὕρῃς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν ἐνδεῆ, ὃς μέμνηται τοῦ κυρίου. " And when I returned to my home, and my wife, Anna, and my son, Tobias, were restored to me, on the festival of Pentecost, which is the holy ⟨festival⟩ of seven weeks, a fine banquet was prepared for me ... 2. ... and I said to my son, Go and bring in any of our brothers whom you may find in need and who is mindful of the Lord."

επτ. εβδο.] ℵ omits επτα 71 εβδομη = εβδομαδων Lag. ܫܒܥ ܫܒܘܥ.

We should hardly be justified in arguing from the former of these passages in Tobit that it was the custom, at the time the book was written, for all Jews to go up to Jerusalem for all the three great festivals. We may, however, suppose from the references in Philo, Josephus and the New Testament that all who were able to go up did so, particularly at Passover. Josephus' estimate of the number present in Jerusalem for Passover, in the legateship of Cestius Gallus, B. J. ii § 280, οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων μυριάδων... is probably exaggerated. Cf. Ant. xvii § 214, πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητος..., B. J. ii § 10, λαὸς ἄπειρος... Josephus also implies that there were usually large numbers of Jews in Jerusalem on the Festival of Weeks; in the instances he gives they had come there from other parts of Palestine in order to protest against the actions of Sabinus, but his language makes it appear that ordinarily they would have come there for religious purposes. Ant. xvii § 254, οὔτι κατὰ τὴν θρησκείαν μόνον παρῆσαν. B. J. ii § 42, οὔχ ἡ συνηθὴς θρησκεία συνήγαγεν τὸν δῆμον. On the Festival of Booths cf. B. J. ii § 515, ἀναβέβηκεν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος...

In 2 Mac. xii, 31. we are told that the band of Jewish soldiers who had marched to Scythopolis returned to Jerusalem for the Festival of Weeks, but nothing is said of a pilgrimage made by others at the same time. παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἑορτῆς οὔσης ὑπογύου. "... they returned to Jerusalem as the Festival of Weeks was near at hand."

> των εβδ.] Five Cod. Sergii του σαββατου εορται πλησιον εφεστωσαι ησαν Lag. ܥܝܕܐ ܕܫܒ̈ܥ̈ܝܢ ܕܩܪܝܒ ܗܘ ܠܡܝܬܐ. The text of the Cod. Serg. may be explained as a misreading of ἑβδομάδη = σάββατον for ἑβδομάδων; the Syr. ܦܨܚܐ = Passover is probably a slip due to absentmindedness. In the next verse it has ܥܝܕܐ ܕܫܒ̈ܥ̈ܝܢ.

Philo, who recognizes the group of three festivals corresponding to the Palestinian שלש רגלים (cf. Treit. p. 61), has given us a picturesque description of the coming of Jews from all parts of the lands of dispersion to Jerusalem for the festivals, but he does not tell us whether all came for all the festivals, De Special. Legibus lib. i § 69 (M. II p. 223). μύριοι γὰρ ἀπὸ μυρίων ὅσων πόλεων, οἱ μὲν διὰ γῆς, οἱ δὲ διὰ θαλάττης, ἐξ ἀνατολῆς καὶ δύσεως καὶ ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας καθ' ἑκάστην ἑορτὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καταίρουσιν οἱά τινα κοινὸν ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταγωγὴν ἀσφαλῆ πολυπράγμονος καὶ ταραχωδεστάτου βίου ... "Thousands from as many cities, some by land and others by sea, from the east and west and north and south, on every festival set out for the temple as if ⟨it were⟩ some common refuge and safe harbor in a life full of many cares and much confusion."

Of the other days of assembly prescribed in the Pentateuch we have a probable allusion to the Day of Atonement in Sir. i, 5 ff. where the description of the splendid appearance of the high priest Simeon on the occasion of offering sacrifice, is to be taken as a reference to the ceremonies on the solemn day of fasting. There is no mention here of the particular animal sacrifices, the wearing by the high priest of the linen garments on entering the sanctuary, or of the choosing of the two goats for which lots were to be drawn, or of the other regulations laid down in Lev. xvi. They are perhaps omitted, as Smend suggests, "der Euphemie halber." In any case the passage is a poetically free one, and an

exact account is not to be expected. Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vorträge p. 103, notes that Rappaport has called attention to the resemblances between the rhetorical language of vs. 5 ff. and the eulogy of the high priest found in the Musaph prayers on the Day of Atonement (the latter passage is quoted in Sm.); some of the similes used are identical. Particularly interesting in the passage in Sirach is a probable allusion to the pronouncing of the name of Jahweh, upon which the people prostrate themselves—a custom associated with this day; cf. Yoma vi, 2. The text of the verses however is not certain. 20. ... δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυρίῳ ἐκ χειλέων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ καυχάσθαι. 21. καὶ ἐδευτέρωσαν ἐν προσκυνήσει ἐπιδέξασθαι τὴν εὐλογίαν παρὰ ὑψίστου. "... to give a blessing to the Lord with his lips, and to glory in his name. 21. And they again prostrated themselves to receive the blessing of the Lord."

Str. has ובירכת יי בשפתיו ובשם יי התפאר וישנו לנפל שנית (העם כ)לם כפנים; there is no Syr. for the verse | εδευτ.] Van. εδευτερωσεν 248, 70'-σαν; Fritzsche FKE 'Ohne Zweifel ist εδευτερωσεν die richtige Lesart.' In that case it would refer to Simeon, but if vs. 20 refers to the uttering of the divine name, as is likely, the plural εδευτερωσαν, referring to the people, is preferable | επιδεξ.] Van. επιδειξασθαι 157, 248, 253 επιδεξ.; Sm. conjectures לשאת for שנית; Ryssel KAP conjectures לקבלה in 21 b, and translates 'um den Segen von ihm zu empfangen'; Oesterley CAP accepts Sm.'s conjecture זכות and translates 'to receive the pardon of God from him.'

Of any liturgical readings from scripture on the festivals, such as are found in later Judaism, we have no mention in the apocrypha. The injunction given in Bar. i, 14. to read " this book," probably with reference to the supposed writings of Baruch mentioned in i, 3., on " festivals and days of assembly " is hardly a reflection of any actual custom. Kneucker, by interpolating from vs. 8. a doubtful reading, " the tenth day of Sivan," and by assuming that there was at this time a fast-day on that date, holds that we have a reference to a special reading of the book on an " historic fast-day " before the first day of Pentecost, which he understands is meant by ἡμέραις καιροῦ. There is no record, however, of any fast-day on the tenth of Sivan, and the first day of Pentecost probably always fell on the sixth of Sivan. Brüll, JJGL Jahrg. viii

pp. 9–10, also believes the 'Mahnschrift' may have been intended for reading on the Festival of the Giving of the Law; he would emend "tenth day of Sivan" to "sixth." "...wie überhaupt der ganze Inhalt der Mahnschrift läßt dieselbe zur Vorlesung am Feste der Gesetzgebung sehr geeignet erscheinen. Dieser Vermutung gemäß müßte indes auch δεκάτῃ in ἕκτῃ emendiert werden." It is difficult to see how such a book would be appropriate for reading on the Festival of Weeks.

The verse reads καὶ ἀναγνώσεσθε τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ὃ ἀπεστείλαμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐξαγορεῦσαι ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου ἐν ἡμέραις ἑορτῆς καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις καιροῦ. "And you shall read this book which we have sent to you, when making ⟨penitential⟩ confession in the house of the Lord, on days of festival and on days of assembly."

> ἐξαγορ.] Lag. ܡܫܬܡܥ ,ܘܢܘܕܘ; Fritzsche FKE 'Da αγορεύειν in der LXX für הודה, התודה steht, bekennen, so liesse sich daran denken, es von ἀναγνώσεσθε abhängig zu machen und im Sinne von Sünden zu bekennen zu fassen ...' | εν οικ. κυρ.] Lag. adds ܒܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ | εν ημ. εορτ.] Van. εν ημερα A Q and other mss. ημεραις Lag. ܒܝܘܡܝ ܕܥܕܢܐ | εν ημ. καιρου] Lag. ܒܝܘܡܝ ܕܥܕܢܐ (reading κυριου for καιρόυ); καιρός in LXX often translates זמן, v. HR, and so Fritzsche, Rothstein KAP and Whitehouse CAP take it here; Kneu. translates '[anderen] Festtagen,' note, '... dann stünde nichts im Wege, wie in dem יום הזה den historischen Fasttag des 10. Siwan, so in den ימי מועד die beiden unmittelbar darauffolgenden Tage des Pfingstfestes zu erkennen.'

Of the inauguration of two new festivals, Nicanor's Day and the Festival of Rededication, חנכה, εγκαινισμός.—Josephus, Ant. xii § 325, calls it the Festival of Lights, ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ελπίδας οἶμαι ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν (τῆς θρησκείας)—we have the earliest accounts in the books of the Maccabees. Apparently these festivals were established by a decree of the political leaders of the people.

1 Mac. vii, 49. καὶ ἔστησαν τοῦ ἄγειν κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Ἀδαρ. "And they decreed that every year this day, the thirteenth of Adar, should be celebrated." Cf. 2 Mac. xv, 36. καὶ ἐδογμάτισαν πάντες μετὰ κοινοῦ ψηφίσματος μηδαμῶς ἐᾶσαι ἀπαρασήμαντον τήνδε τὴν

ἡμέραν, ἔχειν δὲ ἐπίσημον τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός, Ἄδαρ λέγεται τῇ Συριακῇ φωνῇ, πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς Μαρδυχαϊκῆς ἡμέρας. "And all decreed by a public decree that this day should not be unobserved, but that they should celebrate the thirteenth ⟨day⟩ of the twelfth month, which is called Adar in the Syrian (i.e. Hebrew) language, one day before Mordechai's Day."

It is rather strange that there is no mention of Nicanor's Day in Est. viii, 20–23., if, as seems likely (v. Fritzsche FKE Intro. Est.), the apocryphal additions to Esther are not earlier than 2 Maccabees, and especially if, as Scholz supposes, the fixing of the date of the festival of Purim is a later addition to chap. viii. In the passage in Esther we have the decree of Artaxerxes, which commands the Persians, and by implication the Jews as well—if indeed this part of the decree is not addressed to the Jews alone—to celebrate the thirteenth of Adar as a day of rejoicing (Ms. 19 has "the fourteenth day," 93 a "the fifteenth day," A omits the date). Apparently in the Greek period the exact days for the celebration of Purim were not fixed, for tho in the canonical book of Esther the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar are expressly set aside for the festival (Est. ix, 18 ff.), the Mishna treatise Megillah ch. i, which preserves old traditions, seems to indicate that the twelfth, thirteenth and sixteenth days were included in the festival as well, at least in certain cities in Palestine. But if it were certain, as Kraus, JE vol. ix p. 297, thinks, that in the Greek period the thirteenth of Adar was a fast-day, which the Palestinian rabbis later moved to the day after Purim, to make room for Nicanor's Day, and if the apocryphal verses in Est. viii were really written in Maccabean times, it is possible that the festival of the thirteenth of Adar, to which they refer, is Nicanor's Day, a Maccabean festival which the author of the apocryphal Esther, or an interpolator, wished to connect with Purim.

According to 1 Mac. iv, 59. the celebration of Ḥanukkah is decreed by Judas and his brothers and "the assembly of Israel." καὶ ἔστησαν Ἰούδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία Ἰσραὴλ ἵνα ἄγωνται αἱ ἡμέραι ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου

ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν ἐνιαυτὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, ἀπὸ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ εἰκάδος τοῦ μηνὸς Χασελεῦ, μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς. "And Judas and his brothers and the assembly of Israel decreed that the days of rededication of the altar should be celebrated in their season every year for eight days, from the twenty-fifth of the month Kislev, with rejoicing and gladness."

In 2 Mac. i, 9., 18. and x, 5–8. the festival is associated with the Festival of Booths, σκηνοπηγία, and it is altogether probable that the author of the letter in ch. i and the editor of the book are attempting to bring the new festival into connection with the solemn historic festivals recognized in the scriptures, in order to give it greater dignity and importance.

2 Mac. i, 9. καὶ νῦν ἄγετε τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ μηνός. "And now celebrate the days of the Festival of Booths of the month of Kislev." Cf. x, 6–8. καὶ μετ' εὐφροσύνης ἦγον ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ σκηνομάτων τρόπον, μνημονεύοντες ὡς πρὸ μικροῦ χρόνου τὴν τῶν σκηνῶν ἑορτὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις θηρίων τρόπον ἦσαν νενόμενοι. 7. διὸ θύρσους καὶ κλάδους ὡραίους ἔτι δὲ φοίνικας ἔχοντες, ὕμνους ἀνέφερον τῷ εὐοδώσαντι καθαρισθῆναι τὸν εαὐτοῦ τόπον. 8. ἐδογμάτισαν δὲ μετὰ κοινοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ προστάγματος παντὶ τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄγειν τάσδε τὰς ἡμέρας. "And with rejoicing they celebrated the eight days as at the Festival of Booths, remembering that a little while before, during the Festival of Booths, they had been wandering in the mountains and in caves, like beasts. 7. Therefore they took flower-bearing branches and boughs of ripe fruit and palms, and offered hymns ⟨of thanksgiving⟩ to him who had successfully brought about the purifying of his own place. 8. And they ordered by public statute and decree that all the Jewish nation should celebrate these days every year."

σκηνομ. τροπον] Grimm FKE 'wie σκηναί bei Philo De Sept. ... das Laubhüttenfest' | θυρσους] Grimm compares Jos. Ant. xiii § 372: νόμου ὄντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῇ σκηνοπηγίᾳ ἔχειν θύρσους ἐκ φοινίκων καὶ κιτρίων | φοινικας] cf. Lev. xxiii, 40. | υμνους ανεφ.] several

mss. add ευχαριστουντες | τασδε τ, ημερ.] A τας δεκατος ημερας 23. τας δεκα ημ.; Moffatt CAP translates, 'these ten days,' without commenting on the text; δεκα ημ. is undoubtedly a corruption due to the δε in τασδε.

On the use of the method of 'asmakta' or 'finding a biblical support' in 2 Maccabees, we may quote Hochfeld, ZATW vol. xxii p. 276 ff. "Man bedürfte einer biblischen Feier, um Ḥanukka an die Kette der Überlieferung zu schließen. Für diesen Anschluß empfahl sich Sukkot, einmal wegen der zeitlichen Nähe (Sukkot vom 15. Tischri, Ḥanukka vom 25. Kislev an), zweitens wegen der gleichen achttägigen Dauer, dann aber vielleicht auch, weil das Tempelweihefest des Salomo noch (I Könige 8. 2) am Sukkot stattgefunden habe. Außerdem bot die Thora selbst einen der Verlegung der Festfeier aus Not (II Makk. 10) analogen Fall; Num. 9, 6–12 wird von den Israeliten berichtet, welche das Passach nicht zur vorgeschriebenen Zeit begehen konnten, weil sie unrein waren; Vers 8–12 wird für sie die Nachfeier des Passach eingesetzt. Die Stelle hat wahrscheinlich den Umdeutern des Ḥanukka und dem Epitomator des zweiten Makkabäerbuches vorgeschwebt, denn gemäß dem „zweiten Passach" (פסח שני, Mish. Pesahim ix) erscheint Ḥanukka II Makk. 1 und 10 als zweites Hüttenfest (סכות שני)." The last point in Hochfeld's argument is not so well taken, but he is probably right in the rest of his explanation of the method used in 2 Maccabees to give the Festival of Rededication full religious sanction.

3. The Temple

Of the paramount religious importance of the temple in post-exilic Judaism we have an indication in the fact that it occupies the chief place in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah and in the histories of Ezra and Nehemiah. The temple was the center of worship for all Jews, whether they lived in Palestine or in the lands of the diaspora, and at the same time it was the center of activity of the religious teachers of the people, down to the time of its destruction.

Of the physical nature of the second temple or Temple of Zerubbabel we learn little from the scriptures or the apocrypha,

but from rabbinic sources, especially the Mishna treatise Middot, a fairly complete plan of this temple may be reconstructed, if we assume that the Temple of Herod, which the Mishna describes, was substantially the same as the former building. Cf. Eisenstein, JE vol. xii p. 89, GJV vol. ii p. 285 ff.

In the Old Testament the usual word for the temple with all its divisions is בית יהוה, οἶκος κυρίου; in the later books the word היכל is sometimes applied to the temple as a whole, but more usually to the sanctuary, ναός or ἁγίασμα. The inner part of the hekal, the holy of holies, is called דביר or קדש קדשים, ναός in the LXX. In the apocrypha, Philo and Josephus, the temple as a whole is often called ναός or τὸ ἱερόν. The usual word for the temple in rabbinic Hebrew is בית המקדש.

In the midrash the temple is included among the four things which existed ideally before the world was created. Bereshit Rabba Par. i. האבות וישראל בהמ"ק ושמו של משיח עלו במחשבה להבראות. We have the same idea implied in Wis. ix, 9., tho Grimm sees in the verse no reference to a heavenly archetype of the temple. εἶπας οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν ἐν ὄρει ἁγίῳ σου, καὶ ἐν πόλει κατασκηνώσεώς σου θυσιαστήριον, μίμημα σκηνῆς ἁγίας ἣν προητοίμασας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. "Thou didst command the building of a temple on thy holy mountain, and an altar in the city of thy dwelling, a copy of the holy tabernacle which thou hadst made before, in the beginning."

> Grimm FKE 'Dass aber der Verf. im Einklang mit der rabbinischen Vorstellung ... einen sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Tempel und Altar im Himmel meine, ist bei seiner sonstigen geläuterten alexandrinischen Bildung schwer zu glauben. Es bleibt daher nichts übrig, als die ἁγία σκηνή. vom Himmel als dem wahren Heiligtum zu verstehen, als welches derselbe in Hinblick auf die irdische Stiftshütte -σκηνή genannt wird.' The use of the word μίμημα, however, makes Grimm's explanation doubtful. In Sir. xxiv, 10. ἁγία σκηνή is used of the tabernacle in the wilderness; Wisdom personified says 'I ministered before him in the holy tabernacle, and also in Sion I was established,' ἐν σκηνῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐλειτούργησα, καὶ οὕτως ἐν Σιὼν ἐστηρίχθεν.

There is a reference to a heavenly temple, which is not associated with the temple on earth, in Test. Levi v, 1., tho one

recension has a different reading. καὶ ἤνοιξέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ εἶδον τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἁγίον, καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τὸν ὕψιστον. "And the angel opened the gates of heaven for me; and I saw the holy temple, and upon a throne of glory, the Most High."

> Charles' text reads ειδον τον αγιον υψιστον επι θρονον καθημενον, but CT translates the text of B, A, S = Sinker's, and says, note, 'The fuller text appears to be original ... these are the oldest references I am aware of to a temple in heaven ... the belief in heavenly originals of the tabernacle &c. is found of course in the O. T.'

In Test. Benj. ix, 2. the two Greek texts differ slightly, but both agree in referring to the future gathering of the twelve tribes and the Gentiles at the second temple. πλὴν ἐν μερίδι ὑμῶν γενήσεται ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἔνδοξος ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν. ὅτι αὐτὸς λήψεται αὐτήν, καὶ δώδεκα φυλαὶ ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. "But the temple of God will be in your portion and it will be glorious among you. For ⟨God⟩ himself will accept it (the portion = the tribe of Benjamin?), and the twelve tribes will be gathered there, and all the Gentiles."

> In the first part of the verse c, β, S^1 reads πλην εν μεριδι υμων γενησεται ναος θεου και εσται ὁ εσχατος ενδοξος υπερ τον πρωτον; the A text has πλην εν μεριδι υμων γενησεται η κληρονομια αυτου· και δια τον ναον κυριου υψωσε με 'Ιακωβ ινα δοξασθησομαι εν αυτω. CT 'According to c β S^1 the two temples are referred to and the greater glory o the second in accordance with the prophecy of Haggai ii, 9. Our text is a free, independent rendering of the Hebrew of Haggai, differing from the LXX.'

The peculiar closeness of the connection between the temple and the national fortunes, in the eyes of the author of 2 Maccabees, is shown by his explanation of God's temporary 'indifference' to the violation of the temple by Heliodorus, acting under orders from Seleucus; the temple would never have been violated if the Jews had not sinned, but in the punishment of their sins the temple too was involved, since God had chosen Jerusalem as the place for his worship, for the sake of the Jews who lived there. 2 Mac. v, 17–20. καὶ ἐμετεωρίζετο τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ Ἀντιόχος οὐ συνορῶν ὅτι διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων

ἀπώργισται βραχέως ὁ δεσπότης· διὸ γέγονε περὶ τὸν τόπον παρόρασις ... 19. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸν τόπον τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἔθνος τὸν τόπον ὁ κύριος ἐξελέξατο. 20. διόπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος συμμετασχὼν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δυσπετημάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἐκοίνωνησε. "And Antiochus entertained presumptuous thoughts, and did not realize that it was on account of the sins of those who lived in the city, that the Lord was provoked to anger for a little while, and that therefore ⟨he showed⟩ indifference to ⟨the violation of⟩ the place ... 19. But the Lord had not chosen the nation for the sake of the place, but the place for the sake of the nation. 20. And therefore the place also was involved in, and shared, the misfortunes which the Lord allowed to come upon the nation."

διο γεγ.] V δι' αις Lag. = 'and.'

In the same book we are told that the young men who were prepared to fight under Judas against Nicanor in the region of Samaria were more anxious about the safety of the temple than about the safety of their families. 2 Mac. xv, 18. ἦν γὰρ ὁ περὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἔτι δὲ ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγενῶν ἐν ἥττονι μέρει κείμενος αὐτοῖς ἀγῶν, μέγιστος δὲ καὶ πρῶτος ὁ περὶ τοῦ καθηγιασμένου ναοῦ φόβος. "Their anxiety concerning their wives and children and brothers and relatives weighed less on them than their very great and chief concern about the ⟨safety of⟩ the consecrated temple."

αγων] Several mss. omit, others have κινδυνος, Lag. ܟܢܫ ; Grimm FKE '⟨αγων⟩ wahrscheinlich unecht. Da nämlich φόβος, wovon περι γυν. κ. τεκν. abhängt, zu weit entfernt ist, so füllte man die vermeintliche Lücke teils durch ἀγών, teils durch κίνδυνος aus.'

Because of the peculiar sanctity of the temple it was used as a place for the deposit of money belonging to widows and orphans, as well as to wealthy citizens, according to 2 Mac. iii, 5–12. where we are told that Onias, the high priest, explained to Heliodorus that such deposits could not be touched, owing to the "sacredness of the place." 10. τοῦ δὲ ἀρχιερέως ὑποδείξαντος παραθήκας εἶναι χηρῶν τε καὶ ὀρφανῶν, 11. τινὰ δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Τωβίου σφόδρα ἀνδρὸς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ κειμέ-

νου ... 12. ἀδικηθῆναι δὲ τοὺς πεπιστευκότας τῇ τοῦ τόπου ἁγιωσύνῃ καὶ τῇ τοῦ τετιμημένου κατὰ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἱεροῦ σεμνότητι καὶ ἀσυλίᾳ, παντελῶς ἀμήχανον εἶναι. "But the high priest explained that this money was the deposits of widows and orphans 11. and some belonged to Hyrcanus, son of Tobias, a man of very high position ... 12. and it was absolutely impossible that any wrong should be done to those who had put their trust in the sacredness of the place and in the solemn inviolability of the temple which was revered thruout the whole world."

παραθηκας] Several mss. have παρακαταθηκας Lag. ... | ασυλια] Grimm FKE compares Philo Leg. ad Gaium § 346 (M. II p. 596) ... νεών, ὃς ... ἦν ἄψαυστος, ἀσυλίας ἠξιωμένος τῆς πάσης.

The most sacred part of the temple, the holy of holies within the hekal, was to be entered only by the high priest, and then, only on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi, 12 ff.). In 3 Mac. ch. i and ii we are told that when the determination of Ptolemy Philopator to enter the inner sanctuary (in i, 19. called ναός) became known to the Jews, it caused the greatest distress and confusion among them (i, 16 ff.). The multitude rushed about wildly, and the high priest Simon himself prayed earnestly that the holy place might not be defiled. God answered his prayer, and Ptolemy was mysteriously attacked by disease, so that he was unable to move.

Among the promises made to the Jews by Demetrius, the claimant to the Seleucid throne, were, according to 1 Mac. x, 40 ff., gifts of revenue for the temple service, such as had been allowed by the Persians (Ezra vi, 9. et al.) and the Ptolemies (cf. Grimm FKE ad 1.), and the recognition of the temple as an asylum for those who owed money to the king. In the Old Testament the right of asylum is limited to murderers (unintentional homicides according to Ex. xxi, 12 ff.), and they could find it only at the altar; cf. 1 Kings i, 50., xi, 28.

There are few references to the temple buildings or their appurtenances, in the apocrypha. Aris. § 83 ff. has a general description of the temple mountain and the building; the author seems to have been chiefly impressed by the system of drainage

for carrying off the blood of slaughtered animals; § 57–72 give a detailed description of the golden table for the 'shew-bread' (Ex. xxxv, 23–39), which Philadelphus had ordered made for the temple. It is possible that the LXX has borrowed from Aristeas in its translation of the passage from Exodus; v. Andrews CAP ad 1. Other passing references to the temple structure, the altar &c. are found in 1 Esd. ix, 38–41., 1 Mac. i, 29–24., ch. iv, ix, 54., 2 Mac. vi, 4–5. For references in Josephus v. Barton JE vol. xii pp. 97–98. Cf. GJV vol. ii p. 285 ff.

4. Sacrifice and Offerings

Concerning the origin and development of the religious ideas connected with sacrifice in the earlier period of Israelite history, and the attitude of the prophets toward the cult, biblical scholars have various theories, which we need not here discuss; it is, at any rate, clear from the elaborateness of the system of sacrificial law found in the priestly document of the Pentateuch that in post-exilic times levitical sacrifices of a public nature, such as the daily burntofferings, and individual sacrifices, usually offered in atonement for the transgression of ritual laws, were considered a most essential part of the national religion, and continued to be so until the destruction of the temple in the first century A.D., after which they were replaced by the study of the law, prayer and almsgiving.

The place which sacrifice had in the Jewish religion of Hellenistic times is indicated, among other things, by the nature of the references in the apocryphal books to occasions of offering sacrifice. The authors of some of the books dwell upon the ethical aspect of sacrifice, but in no case do they imply that sacrifices are not a necessary part of their religion; they do imply that sacrifice, in the case of individuals, is acceptable to God only when it is offered by those who are truly righteous.

The author of Aristeas, who, in common with Philo, has a consistent ethical interpretation of ceremonial observances, represents the high priest Eleazar as explaining to his visitors from Alexandria that the choice of certain animals as victims is symbolical of the

attitude of mind which the worshipper is expected to take. Aris. § 170. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἐνόμιζε περὶ ἑκάστων ἀπολογεῖσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν προσφερομένων ἔλεγε μόσχων τε καὶ κριῶν καὶ χιμάρων, ὅτι δεῖ ταῦτα ἐκ βουκολίων καὶ ποιμνίων λαμβάνοντας ἥμερα θυσιάζειν, καὶ μηθὲν ἄγριον, ὅπως οἱ προσφέροντες τὰς θυσίας μηθὲν ὑπερήφανον ἑαυτοῖς συνιστορῶσι. σημειώσει κεχρημένοι τοῦ διατάξαντος· τῆς γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς τοῦ παντὸς τρόπου τὴν προσφορὰν ποιεῖται ὁ τὴν θυσίαν προσάγων. "He seemed (?) to me to have satisfactorily justified all these matters (concerning clean and unclean food). Furthermore, with regard to the calves and rams and goats which are offered as sacrifice, he said that it is necessary to take ⟨only⟩ these tame animals, from the herds and flocks, and sacrifice them, and not wild animals, in order that those who offer the sacrifices may not be conscious of any feeling of undue pride, but may understand the intention of the lawgiver. For one who offers a sacrifice is making an offering of his own soul, in all its ⟨different⟩ aspects."

ενομιζε] perhaps ενομιζετο is to be read, as Wendland and Thockeray suggest; Wendland KAP translates, 'er glaubte,' note, 'vielleicht ist zu bessern „schien"'; Andrews CAP 'seemed' | ψυχ. τ. παντος τροπου] Wendland 'seine ganze Seelenrichtung'; Andrews 'his own soul in all its moods.'

Philo has a similar interpretation of the laws concerning sacrificial animals, tho it is more elaborate than that of Aristeas. On the inspection of victims by the priests he says, De Special. Legibus lib. i § 162 ff. (M. II p. 238), τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς καὶ περιττὸν τῆς ἐξετάσεως οὐχ ἕνεκα τῶν καταθυομένων ἀλλὰ τοῦ περὶ τοὺς καταθύοντας ἀνυπαιτίου γίνεται. βούλεται γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀναδιδάξαι διὰ συμβόλων, ὁπότε προσέρχοντο βωμοῖς, ἢ εὐξόμενοι ἢ εὐχαριστήσοντες, μηδὲν ἀρρώστημα ἢ νόσημα ἢ πάθος ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ, πειρᾶσθαι δ' ὅλην δι' ὅλων ἀκηλίδωτον ἁγιάζειν, ὡς ἰδόντα μὴ ἀποστραφῆναι θεόν. "The minute and thorough examination is made not on account of the victims, but of the proper condition of those who offer sacrifice. For he (Moses) wishes to teach them symbolically that when they approach the altar with prayers or thank-offerings, they should

not allow any infirmity or sickness or affection ⟨to remain⟩ in their souls, but seek to offer them (their souls) wholly undefiled, in order that God may not turn away after seeing ⟨them⟩."

In Aris. § 234 one of the Jewish elders, in reply to the king's question, What is the greatest kind of glory, says it is "honoring God"—but not with sacrifices. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· τὸ τιμᾶν τὸν θεόν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ δώροις οὐδὲ θυσίαις, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς καθαρότητι καὶ διαλήψεως ὁσίας, καθὼς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα κατασκευάζεται καὶ διοικεῖται κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν. "The other said, Honoring God. But this consists not in ⟨offering⟩ gifts or sacrifice, but in purity of soul and the pious belief that all things are made and governed in accordance with his will."

καθως] Andrews CAP wrongly translates, 'since'; Wendland KAP rightly 'dass.'

We are not to understand from this passage that the author disapproved of sacrifice, but that he intended to show that merely offering sacrifice does not constitute true piety. His admiration for the system of temple sacrifices, § 83 ff., is evidence of his approval of the cult. Cf. § 96 ... ἀλλὰ φόβῳ καὶ καταξίως μεγάλης θειότητος ἅπαντ' ἐπιτελεῖται. "... but all these things (the sacrificial arrangements) were carried out with reverence and in a manner worthy of the divine greatness."

Jud. xvi, 16. seems to say that all sacrifice is little enough in the eyes of God, but a truly righteous person will always find favor before him; the meaning of the verse is not altogether clear, but, without a forced exegesis, we may understand the author to mean that however necessary sacrifice in general may be, and however inadequate a particular sacrifice may be, it is the intention of the worshipper that is most important. ὅτι μικρὸν πᾶσα θυσία εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας, καὶ ἐλάχιστον πᾶν στέαρ εἰς ὁλοκαύτωμά σοι. ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος τὸν κύριον μέγας διαπαντός. "For little enough is all sacrifice for a sweet savor, and all fat is very little for a burntoffering to thee. But he who reveres the Lord is always great."

μικρον] 19, 108 μικρον και μεγα συ εποιησας Fritzsche FKE 'gar ungeschickt'; Lag. agrees with Van. | ελαχ. κτλ.] 19, 108 και παν στεαρ εις ολοκαυτ. ως ελαχιστα Lag. agrees with Van. | ολοκαυτ.] א ολοκαρπωμα Lag. ܡܚܩܪ̈ܐ.

Sirach, who recommends the giving of sacrifical portions to the priests and whose attitude toward the priestly office, among other things, has seemed to some scholars evidence of his having been a Sadducee, also insists that sacrifices shall be made by righteous men, and not by those who hope to bribe God with gifts acquired unlawfully. Sir. xxxii (xxxv), 15. καὶ μὴ ἔπεχε θυσίᾳ ἀδίκῳ, ὅτι κύριος κριτής ἐστι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτῷ δόξα προσώπου. "And do not trust to sacrifice ⟨made with⟩ unjust ⟨gain⟩, for the Lord is a ⟨just⟩ judge, and with him there is no respect of persons."

μη επεχε] Lag. ܠ ܬܣܟ Str. אל תבטח | θυσια αδικω] Lag. ܒܙܒܚ ܥܘܠܬܐ Str. זבח מעשק | κριτης] Lag. ܕܝܢ ܡܤܦ Str. אלהי משפט.

Sir. xxxi, 21–24. (xxxiv, 18–26.) θυσιάζων ἐξ ἀδίκου προσφορά μεμωκημένη. 22. καὶ οὐκ εἰς εὐδοκίαν μωκήματα ἀνόμων. 23. οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν προσφοραῖς ἀσεβῶν, οὐδὲ ἐν πλήθει θυσιῶν ἐξιλάσκεται ἁμαρτίας. 24. θύων υἱὸν ἔναντι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ προσάγων θυσίαν ἐκ χρημάτων πενήτων. "When one makes a sacrifice with unjust ⟨gain⟩, ⟨his⟩ offering is a mockery. 22. And the mock-offerings of wicked men are not acceptable. 23. The Most High is not satisfied with the offerings of impious men, nor for a multitude of sacrifices does he forgive sin. 24. ⟨Like⟩ one who sacrifices a son before his father's eyes, is he who brings a sacrifice with money ⟨taken⟩ from the poor."

There is no Hebrew | θυσιαζων εξ αδικ.] A 311 θυσια (Sm. 'wohl Korrektur') Lag. ܕܒܚ ܥܘܠܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܥܘܫܩ ; Sm. 'vielleicht stand da עֹלָה מֵעָוֶל; Ryssel KAP conjectures זָבַח מֵעָוֶל and supposes that Gr. mistakenly read זובח מעול | μεμωκημενη] A 106, 157 μεμωμημενη; Fritzsche FKE 'es stand עלת תעתעים, vgl. Jerem. 51, 18.'; Sm. prefers μεμωμ. '= מום בה'; Ryssel reads μεμωκ., and, following Edersheim, suggests that Hebr. had a play on זבח and מום | μωκηματα] A א^{ac} μωμηματα א$^{mg.}$ δωρηματα Lag. ܩܘܪܒܢ̈ܐ; Sm. 'μωκη. ist sicher falsch'; Ryssel 'Spöttereien'; Box CAP 'oblations' | θυων υιον] Fritzsche 'die Armen liegen dem Herrn so am Herzen, wie der Sohn dem Vater.'

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Philo, who begins his treatise De Sacrificantibus, De Special. Legibus lib. i § 257 (M. II p. 251), with the statement " the law commands that he who offers sacrifice should be pure in body and soul," has a fine passage on the moral obligations of those who make offerings. He interprets the passage in Ex. xxx concerning the building of the two altars of incense and burntoffering respectively, and the passage in Lev. xvi, 12. which provides for the burning of incense within the sanctuary before the slaying of the victim outside, in the following way. § 277. οὐ γὰρ ἐφεῖται τὴν ὁλόκαυστον θυσίαν ἔξω προσαγαγεῖν πρὶν ἔνδον περὶ βαθὺν ὄρθρον ἐπιθυμιᾶσαι. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον οὐχ ἑτέρου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ παρὰ θεῷ μὴ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καταθυομένων εἶναι τίμιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ καθαρώτατον τοῦ θύοντος πνεῦμα λογικόν. εἰ μὴ ἄρα δικαστὴς μὲν, ᾧ μέλει τῆς ὁσίας κρίσεως, παρά τινος τῶν κρινομένων οὐκ ἂν λάβοι δῶρα, ἢ λαβὼν ἔνοχος ἔσται δωροδοκίᾳ, οὐδ' ἀνὴρ ἀστεῖος παρὰ μοχθηροῦ τινος, ἄνθρωπος παρ' ἀνθρώπου πλουτοῦντος αὐτὸς ἴσως δεόμενος, σὺ δ' ᾠήθης τὸν θεὸν δεκάζεσθαι, τὸν αὐταρκέστατον ἑαυτῷ καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν γενέσει χρεῖον, ὅστις ὢν τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθόν, τὸ τελειότατον, ἡ ἀέναος πηγὴ φρονήσεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς, ἀποστρέφεται τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀδίκων δωρεάς. " For ⟨the law⟩ does not permit the offering of the sacrifice of burntoffering outside ⟨the sanctuary⟩ before the offering of incense at early dawn within. This is a symbol of nothing else than that it is not the number of victims which is important in the eyes of God, but the cleanness of conscience of the man who sacrifices. For if a judge, who assumes responsibility for uprightness in judgment, does not take gifts from one of the litigants, or if ⟨a judge⟩ who does take ⟨them⟩ is guilty of accepting a bribe, and if no honest man, even tho he might be in need, would accept gifts from a wealthy man who is dishonest, do you suppose God can be bribed, who is altogether self-sufficient and in need of none of the things which are created, and who, as the first good and the most perfect, the eternal spring of wisdom and righteousness and every virtue, rejects the gifts of unrighteous men? "

In Sir. xxxii (xxxv), 1 ff. the author expresses approval of sacrifice because "it is commanded" and urges that it be offered with cheerfulness and with gratitude to God; at the same time he points out that the fulfilment of social obligations is also an acceptable sacrifice. Ὁ συντηρῶν νόμον πλεονάζει προσφοράς. 2. θυσιάζων σωτηρίου ὁ προσέχων ἐντολαῖς. 3. ἀνταποδιδοὺς χάριν προσφέρων σεμίδαλιν. 4. καὶ ὁ ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνην θυσιάζων αἰνέσεως. 5. εὐδοκία κυρίου ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ πονηρίας, καὶ ἐξιλασμὸς ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ ἀδικίας. 6. μὴ ὀφθῇς ἐν προσώπῳ κυρίου κενός. 7. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα χάριν ἐντολῆς. 8. προσφορὰ δικαίου λιπαίνει θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἡ εὐωδία αὐτῆς ἔναντι ὑψίστου. 9. θυσία ἀνδρὸς δικαίου δεκτή, καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπιλησθήσεται. 10. ἐν ἀγαθῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δόξασον τὸν κύριον, καὶ μὴ σμικρύνῃς ἀπαρχὴν χειρῶν σου. 11. ἐν πάσῃ δόσει ἱλάρωσον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἁγίασον δεκάτην. "He who keeps the law makes many offerings. 2. ⟨Like⟩ one who makes a peace-offering is he who obeys the commandments. 3. He who shows kindness to others is ⟨like⟩ one who makes a meal-offering. 4. And he who gives alms (?) is ⟨like⟩ one who makes a thank-offering. 5. An acceptable sacrifice to the Lord ⟨it is⟩ to avoid wickedness, and a propitiatory sacrifice to avoid unrighteousness. 6. Do not appear in the presence of the Lord empty-handed. 7. For all these ⟨sacrifices are to be made⟩ in order to fulfil the commandments. 8. The offering of a righteous man causes the altar to burn richly, and its savor comes to the Most High. 9. The sacrifice of a righteous man is acceptable, and its memorial-offering will not be ignored. 10. With a joyful expression honor the Lord and do not stint the heave-offering of your hands. 11. In ⟨making⟩ every offering have a cheerful countenance, and with joy consecrate the tithe."

There is no Hebr. except for vs. 11; the Syr. omits the references to sacrifice, perhaps, as the commentators suggest, because of Christian bias | προσφορας] Lag. ܕܒܚܫܢ | θυσ. σωτη.] (σωτηρια = שלמים) Lag. ܫܠܡܐ (Sm. 'entstellt war vielleicht זבח in רוח und שלם wurde missverstanden') | ανταπ. χαριν] Lag. ܘܐܦܨ ܫܘܦܠܐ ܒܨܒ; Sm. 'αντ. χαριν ist schlechte Uebersetzung von גומל טוב'; Ryssel KAP translates 'Wohltaten erweist,' note, 'im Urtexte stand in v. 3 גומל חסד'; Box CAP 'practiceth kindness' |

προσφ. σεμιδαλιν] (σεμ. = מנחה) Lag. ܒܥܘܬ ܡܣܟܢܘܬ | ελεομ.] Lag. ܒܨܕܩܐ; Sm. ' = צדקה = Mildtätigkeit '; Ryssel, supposing on original צדקה, translates ' Wohltätigkeit '; Box ' mercy '; if צדקה stood in Hebr. it may have meant ' almsgiving ' as well as charity, as in rabbinic Hebr. | θυσ. αινεσ.] (= זבח תודה) Lag. ܕܒܚ ܕܫܒܚܬܐ (perhaps reading תורה for תודה as Edersheim ap. Ryssel, Sm. and Box suggest) | αποστη. απο αδικ.] Lag. ܡܢ ܥܠ ܕܫܠܡ ܡܫܟܒ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܚܛܝ | παντα γαρ ταυτα κτλ.] Lag. ܒܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܥܐ ܠܢ ܒܪܥܝܢ ܕܢܫܪܐ ܠܢ ܦܘܪܩܢ (Sm. ' schlecht ') | λιπ. θυσ. κτλ.] Lag. ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܚܛܝ ܕܢܫܪܐ ܠܢ ܦܘܪܩܢ; Sm. ' λιπ.... handelt es sich um ein Zeichen, aus dem auf die gnädige Annahme des Opfers geschlossen wurde. Vgl. Ps. 20, 4 ' | θυσ. ανδ. δικ. κτλ.] (θυσ. = מנחה, μνημ. = אזכרה) Lag. ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܚܛܝ ܕܢܫܪܐ ܠܢ ܦܘܪܩܢ | εν οφθαλ. κτλ.] (απαρχ. χειρων = תרומת ידי) Lag. ܒܬܪܥܘܬ ܕܝ ܕܢܫܪܐ ܠܢ ܒܪܥܝܢ ܕܢܫܪܐ ܠܢ ܦܘܪܩܢ (Sm. ' er verlas wohl תמעד in תמעד ' | δοσει] Lag. ܒܥܫܪ Str. מעשיך | αγιασ. δεκατην] Lag. ܒܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܩܕܫ ܠܝ (Sm. ' rationalisierend ').

In the Prayer of Azariah, vs. 14 ff., in which Azariah speaks to God on behalf of his companions and himself, we seem to have the idea expressed that devotion to God and humility of spirit are an acceptable substitute for sacrifice. The text of both Theodotion and the LXX are perhaps corrupt in several places, and the meaning of some verses is not altogether clear. Brüll understands the passage, which he calls " der einzige originelle Gedanke dieser Schrift," to mean that the sacrifice referred to in vs. 16., " our sacrifice," is the actual self-sacrifice or offering of themselves for martyrdom of the three youths, and he cites haggadic passages in the Tosephta and Talmud which seem to him to express similar ideas. In view of Azariah's prayer for deliverance, vs. 19 ff., I think it doubtful that the passage refers to actual self-sacrifice. It would be simpler to understand the words, " our sacrifice " to mean the pious spirit of the three youths, which they offer God in place of ritual sacrifice. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἄρχων καὶ προφήτης καὶ ἡγούμενος, οὐδὲ ὁλοκαύτωσις οὐδὲ θυσία οὐδὲ προσφορὰ οὐδὲ θυμίαμα οὐδὲ τόπος τοῦ καρπῶσαι ἐναντίον σου καὶ εὑρεῖν ἔλεος. 15. ἀλλ' ἐν ψυχῇ συντετριμμένῃ καὶ πνεύματι ταπεινώσεως προσδεχθείημεν. 16. ὡς ἐν ὁλοκαυτώσει κριῶν καὶ ταύρων καὶ ἐνμ υριάσιν ἀρνῶν πιόνων, οὕτως γενέσθω ἡ θυσία

ἡμῶν ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον, καὶ ἐκτελέσαι ὄπισθέν σου (?) ὅτι οὐκ ... ἔσται αἰσχύνη τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπὶ σοί. "... and there is at this time no prince or prophet or leader, or burntoffering or ⟨bloody⟩ sacrifice or meal-offering or incense-offering or place to burn sacrifices before thee and to find favor. 15. But may we be accepted because of ⟨our⟩ contrite heart and humble spirit 16. (to be taken with vs. 15., v. note) as if ⟨we were making a sacrifice⟩ with burntofferings of rams and bulls and tens of thousands of fat sheep; so may our sacrifice be in thine eyes today, and we shall follow after thee (?), for no misfortune will befall those who trust in thee."

ηγουμ.] Lag. ܡܪܝܢ; Fritzsche FKE '... kann nur ein Führer in geistlichen Dingen sein'; Rothstein KAP 'wohl von den Priestern' | καρπωσαι] Lag. ܩܘܪܒܢ; Brüll o. c. p. 25 note 1. 'Hier wie in Ezra apocr. 4, 52 entspricht καρπῶσαι dem hebr. לבער, vgl. Neh. 10, 35... Möglicherweise war dieses לבער aus לעבוד corrumpirt'; Rothstein translates, wrongly, I think, 'darbringen die Erstlinge'; κάρπωμα in LXX translates both אשה and עלה, v. HR | προσδεχθ.] Lag. ܘܢܩܒܠ ... ܘܐ | ως εν ολοκαυτ. κτλ.] Lag. ... ܐܝܟ ... ; Fritzsche 'Fälschlich haben die alten Ueberss. vor ὡς interpungirt und als Nachsatz dazu οὕτως κτλ. betrachtet. Es ist deutlich, dass vor οὕτως zu interpungiren ist und ὡς κτλ. sich an das Vorliegende anschliesst — aber, atqui, in, bei, mit zerknirschter Seele, s. Ps. 51, 12, Jes. 57, 15, und erniedrigtem Geiste, G. der Erniedrigung, Demuth mögen hier angenommen werden, wie mit — als wenn wir darbrächten.' In Lag.'s text vs. 14 corresponds to Gr. 15 b and 16 | κ. εν μυριασιν] twenty mss. have κ. ως εν μυρ. | γεν. η θυσια ημων] Lag. ... | κ. εκτελ. οπισθ. σου] LXX κ. εξιλασαι, at end of vs. και τελειωσαι οπισθεν σου; ἐξιλ. is probably a gloss as Fritzsche and Bennett CAP assume (Fritzsche 'In LXX ändere ich dem Parallelismus gemäss unbedenklich κ. ἦ ἐξιλασμὸς כפרים ἔμπροσθέν σου') Lag. simply ... ; Rothstein 'Es ist sicher herzustellen εξιλασαι το προσωπον σου'; Bennett 'εκτελ. οπισ. σ. is a literal rendering of the Hebr. מלא אחרי, Num. xiv, 24. ... the LXX reading εξιλασαι "make thou atonement" is a correction'; Brüll '... vielleicht εκτελεσαι aus ουκ τελεσαι ⟨would any scribe have written ουκ before a consonant?⟩ corrumpirt ist. Hebräisch würde diese Stelle ולא יכלו מאחריך gelautet haben. ... Wie leicht das ולא יכלו מאחריך für ולא יכלמו משחריך geschrieben würde!'

Except for the matter of tithes (on which v. infra) there is nothing of particular importance from the strictly halakic point

of view in the apocryphal references to sacrifices and offerings. It may be of interest, however, to note the occasions on which sacrifices (apart from those offered on behalf of Gentiles) are said to have been made.

In Jud. iv, 14. Joakim, the high priest, and the other priests offer sacrifice in their appeal to God to save them from the power of Holofernes. καὶ Ἰωακὶμ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ πάντες οἱ παρεστηκότες ἐνώπιον κυρίου, ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λειτουργοῦντες κυρίῳ, σάκκους περιεζωσμένοι τὰς ὀσφύας αὐτῶν προσέφερον τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν τοῦ ἐνδελεχισμοῦ, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰ ἑκούσια δόματα τοῦ λαοῦ. "And Joakim, the high priest, and all those who stood before the Lord, priests and those who ministered to the Lord (= Levites?) put sackcloth around their loins, and offered the continual burntoffering, and the vow-offerings and the freewill-offerings of the people.

ιερεις–κυριω] ℵ omits, Lag. ܟܗܢܐ ܘܫܡܫܝ; Scholz 'Da Sin. 71 und V. λειτουργουντες nicht haben, ist es Doppelübersetzung zu παρεστηκοτες 11, 13, משרתים — weshalb mehrere Codd. 74, 76, 236 erklärend statt „Priester" das, und auch weil es Sin. 52, V. nicht haben, Erklärung zu λειτουργ. oder λευιται ist, Leviten, d. h. Proselyten, lesen oder beifügen. ... Wahrscheinlich, bes. wegen 14, 10, stand anfänglich nur הלוים.' I see no reason for not accepting Van.'s text | κ. τ. ευχας–λαου] ℵ omits, Lag. ܘܩܘܪܒܢ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ (ܫܘܒܚܐ = απαρχη = תרומה).

In Jud. xvi, 18. after the death of Holofernes the people celebrate their deliverance, and make the same offerings. ὡς δὲ ἦλθοσαν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἡνίκα ἐκαθαρίσθη ὁ λαός, ἀνήνεγκαν τὰ ὁλοκαυτώματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἑκούσια αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ δόματα. "When they came to Jerusalem, they worshipped God, and after the people was purified, they offered their burntofferings and their freewill-offerings and gifts."

κ. τα δοματα] 58 Lag. omit; Fritzsche FKE 'Unnütz war der Zusatz. Vgl. 4, 14.'

In 2 Mac. i, 8. the Palestinian Jews write their Egyptian correligionists about the sacrifices which they offered at the purification and rededication of the temple. καὶ ἐδεήθημεν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ εἰσηκούσθημεν, καὶ προσηνέγκαμεν θυσίαν καὶ

σεμίδαλιν, καὶ ἐξήψαμεν τοὺς λύχνους, καὶ προεθήκαμεν τοὺς ἄρτους. "And we prayed to the Lord, and our prayer was heard, and we offered a sacrifice ⟨of burntoffering⟩ and a meal-offering, and we lighted the lamps, and set out the ⟨shew⟩-bread."

θυσιαν] several mss. have θυσιας Lag. ܡܢܚܬܐ; θυσια in LXX sometimes translates עלה. In the parallel passage in 1 Mac. iv, 53—καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν θυσίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ το θυσιαστήριον τῶν ὁλοκαυτωμάτων τὸ καινὸν ὃ ἐποίησαν; the account in 2 Mac. x, 1–4 mentions only θυσίαν and θυμίαμα; in the priestly document of the Pentateuch the burnt-offering, meal-offering and drink-offering are prescribed twice daily, Ex. xxix, 38 ff., Num. xxviii, 3 ff. | αρτους] Lag. ܚܡܡ ܐܦ.

As to the manner of offering sacrifice, there are few references in the apocrypha. Sir. 1, 12 ff. incidentally refers to the helping activity of the priests who give to the high priest the portions of the animals to be sacrificed, probably on the Day of Atonement; cf. Tamid vii, 3. Aris. § 92 ff. has a fairly detailed account of the division of labor among the priests who prepare the animals for the daily sacrifice. For an account of the daily temple ritual, based chiefly on the Mishna treatise Tamid, v. GJV vol. ii p. 279 ff. In Test. Levi ix, 11. Jacob tells how Isaac taught him to wash before and after offering sacrifice; cf. Yoma iii, 3.

The biblical laws concerning the offering of firstfruits and tithes are somewhat different in the different strata of the Pentateuch, but the regulations in the Mishna are quite definite and probably reflect the practices observed for the most part in the Persian and Greek periods. Cf. GJV vol. ii p. 234 ff. On the rabbinic law of the tithes we may quote Finkelstein on Jubilees xxxii, 9–11. "On the first and second years of the sabbatical cycle, as well as on the fourth and fifth, two tithes were brought from all produce. The first was given to the Levite; the second might be eaten by the owner but nowhere else than in Jerusalem. In the third and sixth years of the seven-year cycle the first tithe was given to the Levite, and instead of taking the second tithe to Jerusalem, it was called the 'tithe of the poor' and was to be distributed among the needy of the vicinity. The Levites who received the first tithe were obliged by law to give a tithe of their

tithe to a priest. During the second commonwealth it often happened that the Israelite would give his first tithe to a priest instead of to a Levite. On the propriety of this the talmudic authorities are divided." In the book of Jubilees the first tithe is given to a priest. "The latter must then set aside one tithe of this tithe and take it to the temple, where it must be eaten by priests within a definite time, namely before the arrival of the new crop. This 'tithe of the tithe' is called the 'second tithe'... Practically in the same category with the second tithe the rabbis place the fruits of the fourth year... our author treats the fruits of the fourth year in the same way as the 'second tithe' of his special system."

In Jud. xi, 13., in the speech of Judith to Holofernes, we read of the sin which the starving Jews have committed in determining to eat the offerings reserved for the priests in Jerusalem. The verse seems to say that the first tithe (מעשר ראשון in the Mishna), as well as the firstfruits, was given to the priests, but there is probably some inexactness of language in the original, or confusion in the translation. καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καὶ τὰς δεκάτας τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἃ διεφύλαξαν ἁγιάσαντες τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς παρεστηκόσιν ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἀπέναντι τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, κεκρίκασιν ἐξαναλῶσαι, ὧν οὐδὲ ταῖς χερσὶν καθῆκεν ἅψασθαι οὐδένα τῶν ἐκ λαοῦ. "And the firstfruits of the grain and the tithes of wine and oil which they had sanctified and kept for the priests who stand before the presence of our God in Jerusalem, they have decided to consume, altho it is not lawful for any of the people even to touch them with his hands."

δεκατας] 23 δεκτας Lag. omits 'tithes' and joins απαρ. with 'grain,' 'oil' and 'wine' in this order, דגנם תירושם יצהרם; nowhere in the LXX is δεκάτη used with σίτος &c., but απαρχή, which translates מעשר as well as ראשית and תרומה, is several times used with σίτος &c. where the Hebr. has ראשית, v. HR. The same inexact use of δεκάτη for ἀπαρχή occurs in Philo, cf. Rit. p. 117. If we translate δεκάτας by 'tithes,' we may then suppose that the author is writing summarily, and that the Levites are included among the ἱερεῦσι τοῖς παρεστ. κτλ. The commentators have no remarks on the halakic point involved.

Tob. i, 6 ff. is interesting because of its completeness in treating of the tithes. Tho there are differences of reading between the two Greek recensions and between these and the Syriac, and tho it is likely that all the texts are to some extent corrupt, it is, however, fairly clear that the account of the disposition which Tobit made of the various tithes is in agreement with that approved by the rabbis; that is, the first tithe, מעשר ראשון, goes to the Levite, the second tithe, מעשר שני, is eaten by the owner in Jerusalem, in the first, second, fourth and fifth years of the sabbatical cycle, and, in place of the second tithe, a tithe is given to the poor, מעשר עני, in the third and sixth years. According to א the tithe of cattle was given to the priests, but it is difficult to decide what the correct reading of the text is. The biblical law, Lev. xxvii, 32., does not make it clear whether the tithe of cattle was to be given to the priests or to the Levites; Philo, De Special. Legibus lib. i § 41 (M. II p. 234), assigns the tithe of cattle to priests (Seligsohn, JE vol. xii p. 152, is wrong in saying that Philo assigns it to either priests or Levites); cf. Rit. p. 123. Josephus is apparently inconsistent on this point; cf. Rit. l. c. The rabbis refer the passage in Leviticus to the second tithe; cf. Seligsohn l. c., Rit. l. c. The text of א reads ... τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καὶ τὰ πρωτογενήματα καὶ τὰς δεκάτας τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ τὰς πρωτοκουρίας τῶν προβάτων ἔχων ἀπέτρεχον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. 7. καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἀαρών, πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ ἐλαίων καὶ ῥοῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀκροδρύων τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευεὶ τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ· καὶ τὴν δεκάτην τὴν δευτέραν ἀπεδεκάτιζον (?) ἀργυρίῳ τῶν ἓξ ἐτῶν, καὶ ἐπορευόμην καὶ ἐδαπάνων αὐτὰ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ κατ' ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. 8. καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτὰ τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς καὶ ταῖς χήραις καὶ προσηλύτοις τοῖς προσκειμένοις τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ. εἰσέφερον καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει, καὶ ἠσθίομεν αὐτὰ κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τὸ προστεταγμένον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωσῆ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἃς ἐνετείλατο Δεββώρα ἡ μήτηρ Ἀνανιὴλ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ... "... with the terumah (or first-fruits) and the firstlings and the tithes of the cattle and the first

shearings of the sheep I went off to Jerusalem. 7. And I gave them to the priests, the sons of Aaron, at the altar, and the tithe of wine and grain and oil and pomegranates and the other choice fruits, to the Levites who serve in Jerusalem; and the second tithe I tithed (?) for money, during the six years ⟨of the sabbatical cycle⟩, and I went and spent ⟨the money obtained from selling⟩ them (the products set aside for the second tithe) in Jerusalem every year. 8. And I gave ⟨of⟩ them to the orphans and widows and proselytes who attached themselves to the Israelites. I brought ⟨these products⟩ and gave them to them in the third year, and we ate them in accordance with the commandment of Moses given in the law concerning them, and in accordance with the command which Deborah, the mother of our father Hananiel, had given ..."

The א text seems to say that the second tithe was also given to the poor in the third year, but what it probably means is that in the third year, *instead* of a second tithe, a tithe was given to the poor, as the rabbis substituted the מעשר עני for the מעשר שני in the third and sixth years. Van.'s text reads, κἀγὼ μόνος ἐπορευόμην πλεονάκις εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ... τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καὶ τὰς δεκάτας τῶν γεννημάτων καὶ τὰς πρωτοκουρίας ἔχων. 7. καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἀαρὼν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον πάντων τῶν γεννημάτων· τὴν ⟨πρώτην⟩ δεκάτην ἐδίδουν τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευὶ τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ. καὶ τὴν δευτέραν δεκάτην ἀπεπρατιζόμην, καὶ ἐπορευόμην καὶ ἐδαπάνων αὐτὰ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. 8. καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἐδίδουν οἷς καθήκει, καθὼς ἐνετείλατο Δεββώρα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ πατρός μου... "And I regularly went up alone to Jerusalem on the festivals with the terumah (or firstfruits) and the tithes of produce and the first shearings. 7. And I gave of all the produce to the priests, the sons of Aaron, at the altar; the first tithe I gave to the Levites, who serve in Jerusalem, and the second tithe I sold, and went and spent ⟨the money obtained by selling⟩ them (the products set aside for the second tithe) in Jerusalem every year. 8. And the third ⟨tithe⟩ I gave to those who were entitled to it, as Debora, my father's mother commanded...' We are probably to insert πρώτην before δεκάτην in vs. 7, with several mss., tho Fritzsche FKE thinks it rather an addition in the latter; A does not have it, v. infra. In Van.'s text, as also in A, the מעשר עני is called ἡ τρίτη ⟨δεκάτη⟩. Lag.'s text differs from both א and Van. ...

ܒܪ ܐܒܗ ܕܐܡܗ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܟܗܢ̈ܐ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܗܪܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܕܒܚܐ ... ܘܥܣܪ ܟܠ ܥܒܕ ܐܪܥܐ ... ܠܠܘܝ̈ܐ ... ܕܝܬܒ̈ܝܢ ... ܒܝܪܘܫܠܡ ... ܒܟܠ ܫܢܐ ... ܘܥܣܪ ... ܘܐܙܠ ... ܘܐܙܕܒܢ ... ܘܐܬܐ

It is perhaps impossible to fix the correct reading of the text of Tob. i, 6 ff., but in spite of this difficulty, it is clear that the author considered the first tithe to be the property of the Levites, whom there would otherwise be no occasion to mention.

In Test. Levi ix, 3–4. Levi tells of the vision which Jacob had at Bethel, which foretold that Levi should be a priest. 4. καὶ ἀναστὰς τὸ πρωὶ ἀπεδεκάτωσε πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ. "And arising early in the morning he gave a tithe of all things to the Lord thru me." (Cf. Jubilees xxxii, 2. where Jacob is said to have given tithes, but to whom, is not told.) In view of the reference to Levi's priesthood in vs. 3., and what follows concerning the law of the priesthood, vs. 7 ff., we might suppose that this passage refers to the giving of the first tithe to the priest, but it is difficult to decide whether priests or Levites are here alluded to.

IV. CONCLUSION

On the basis of the passages assembled in the preceding chapters we may proceed to make certain general judgments concerning the religion of the Jews during the Greek period. Whatever influence may have been exerted upon Alexandrian and Palestinian Judaism in that age by Greek philosophy, Persian eschatology and demonology and Babylonian astrology, the great theological ideas which are most prominent in rabbinic Judaism, such as the belief in the oneness and uniqueness of God, in his moral attributes, in the necessity and efficacy of repentance, in the divine origin and pre-existence of scripture—these ideas as they are expressed in the apocryphal literature are seen to be a natural development of the religious teachings which are recorded in the Old Testament. They arise in the course of time as a chrystallization, but not a radical transformation, of older beliefs, and are fully to be accounted for by the internal growth of the national religion as it was affected by political changes.

The books which we have studied show us clearly how important were ceremonial observances, but they show us at the same time that the scrupulous fulfilment of the requirements of the ceremonial law was not considered sufficient in itself to form the sum of the religious duties of the people. It is the teaching of the authors of these books that sacrifice is acceptable to God only when it is offered by those whose conduct is acceptable to him, that the covenant which God had made with their fathers would insure the continuance of his favor to them, only so long as they deserved God's favor by living in accordance with the moral as well as ceremonial requirements of his law.

From the apocryphal literature we also learn that during the Greek period the ceremonial and civil laws of the Old Testament

were interpreted and expanded in the oral law, and that instruction was given by a class of men, known as scribes, in large part drawn from the sect of Pharisees, who, sometime during the latter half of the second century B.C., as we learn from other sources, were recognized as the authoritative repositaries of that oral law; and that during this period the canon of books which, with one or two exceptions, were recognized as scriptural by the teachers of the first century A.D., was fixed and a threefold division was made of the books into Pentateuch, Prophets and Hagiographa, the first of which was generally known as The Book of the Law.

With regard to the specifically halakic matters considered in chapter III we may say that the basic regulations already presupposed in the Mishna, had probably been established before the end of the second century B.C., and that the form of such halakot as relate to the sabbath, the festivals, tithes and the like, concerning which the Pentateuchal passages are not definite enough or contradictory, is very much the same as that of the halakot generally accepted as binding in the Tannaitic literature.

In the eschatological books which we have not considered, such as Enoch, the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, Fourth Esdras, a number of new ideas are found concerning the fate of the individual after death, and different conceptions of the future destiny of Israel from those which prevail in the Old Testament. It is likely that in the period when the nation suffered from the oppression of the Herodian rulers and the Roman governors, such eschatological writings greatly influenced the popular religion, but that soon after the failure of the revolt under Hadrian apocalyptic works became of negligible value in the teaching of what Professor Moore conveniently calls normative Judaism, and this form of Judaism, the religion of the Tannaim, is essentially the same as that which is reflected in the apocryphal books we have studied.

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